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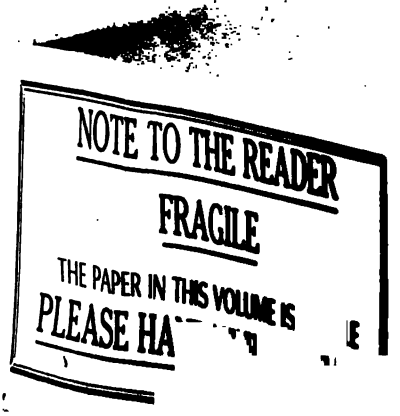

THE WORKS

NOW EXTANT OF

S. JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

A

LIBRARY OF FATHERS

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

ANTERIOR TO THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST:

TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah* XXX. 20.

OXFORD,
J. H. AND JAS. PARKER;
F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCCLXI.

TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,

FORMERLY REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

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AND

CARRIED ON FOR TWELVE YEARS UNDER HIS SANCTION,

UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE HENCE IN PEACE,

IS

GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY

INSCRIBED.

Justinus Martyr

THE WORKS

NOW EXTANT OF

S. JUSTIN THE MARTYR,

TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

OXFORD,
J. H. AND JAS. PARKER;
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PREFACE.

THIS Volume contains a translation of all the writings of S. Justin Martyr now extant, of which the genuineness may be regarded as unquestionable. The other works which bear his name are most probably not written by him, though some of them belong to the same age. On the other hand, several treatises of his which were extant in the time of Eusebius are now lost. To one of these he himself refers; a work 'against all Heresies:' his treatise against Marcion is cited by S. Irenæus: and both these works are mentioned with commendation by Photius in the eighth century. What we possess of the works of S. Justin Martyr, as indeed of the Christian literature of the second century generally, are but fragments saved from the general wreck. It is important to keep this in mind, because it shews us, that the Christians of the generations next after S. Justin had ample materials for knowing and judging of the doctrines held by him and other early writers, which we do not possess. It shews also, that the Christian literature of that period was by no means exclusively Apologetic. It was also, to a great degree, doctrinal, practical, and controversial. It is from the predominant character of the few relics which have been left us, as well as the large proportion of works of an apologetic kind, that this period has been regarded as the age of Apologies.

The works of S. Justin here translated, then, are two Apologies, addressed to the Emperors, and designed to

remove the objections alleged by the Heathen against Christianity, and to plead for freedom from persecution: and a Dialogue with Trypho and other Jews, arguing with them, on their own grounds, that they ought to receive our Lord as the Messiah. The value of these treatises is incalculable, affording as they do, at a period so early, a living picture of the relation of Christianity to Judaism and Paganism; while they exhibit the grounds on which the Gospel was opposed and maintained; the doctrines and system which were then held to be Christianity; and the lives, characters, and condition of the Christians themselves.

It is this fulness of information respecting the Christians, combined with the early age at which S. Justin lived, and the authority which his contemporaries and the writers of the next generations attributed to his works, which makes them so valuable. After the brief Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, and a few fragments of other writers of the earlier part of the second century, S. Justin is our first and most trustworthy informant respecting the sub-Apostolic Church. The date of his first Apology is placed by some about A.D. 139; by others as late as A.D. 150: (the earlier period is assigned as necessarily following from the names and styles of the Emperors to whom it is addressed[a], according to the received reading; and as harmonizing with the fact that events, as the revolt of Barcochab, the Jewish war, and the death of Antinous, which occurred between A.D. 130 and 136, are spoken as though they were recent: the later period as coinciding with Justin's own statement, that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years before the time of his writing[b]; while the spread of Marcion's heresy of which he speaks[c] is incompatible with an earlier date[d].) The martyrdom of S. Justin may be placed about A.D. 166. Shortly before that event the Second Apology was written. The Dialogue with Trypho

[a] c. 1.
[b] c. 46.
[c] c. 78. 31. 76.
[d] c. 26. 58.

was published after the First Apology, and refers to it. It is probable that S. Justin himself was born towards the close of the first, or early in the second century.

The author of these works then lived within the half century following the death of the Apostle S. John. But his means of information reached back into the Apostolic age itself. He was acquainted with Christians of advanced age 'of every race,' who had been believers from their childhood. He was, moreover, a person of inquisitive temper: and his life was spent in various localities, and in intercourse and discussions with men of all sects and opinions. He was apparently what we should call an itinerant teacher. He was born in Samaria, but in a Greek-speaking settlement, and of a Gentile family; the habits of the age, and the circumstances of the world, when all the shores of the Mediterranean were under one rule, and practically of one language, led him to travel about from place to place. Before his conversion to Christianity, he had tested the various schools of heathen philosophy. He had witnessed the patient endurance of the persecuted Christians. After his conversion he seems to have considered it his calling, to endeavour to win from their errors 'men of every nation,' Jews and Gentiles, and those who under the name of Christians taught what was untrue[e]. It was when he was on a voyage that he met with Trypho: Eusebius says at Ephesus: he lived some time at Rome; there he published his Apologies at long severed periods, and received the crown of martyrdom. He had, therefore, ample means of knowing what was the faith and practice of Christians throughout the world in his own as well as in earlier times. His honesty, his fairness, his love of truth, and caution not to state any thing of which he was not assured, are manifest throughout his works.

These reasons for confiding in the correctness of his representations are confirmed by the fact, that he published

[e] T. c. 64. 82.

the Dialogue with Trypho as an assurance to the Jews that his statements respecting the Christian doctrines were true: challenging contradiction, if he had misrepresented them. And his trustworthiness is attested by the reliance placed on him by the writers who come nearest to his own time. Besides Tatian, his contemporary and disciple, S. Irenæus, twenty years after Justin's death, in one place cites his work against Marcion, and in others adopts his words without mentioning his name. Tertullian distinctly mentions him as one of the most distinguished writers against heretics, and used his writings in composing his own. S. Hippolytus refers to him as one of the most esteemed teachers of the Church, and designates him as 'Justin the Martyr.' Minucius Felix seems to have copied from him. And Eusebius at a later period sums up, as we may well suppose, the opinions entertained respecting him, and attests the estimation in which his writings were held as authentic descriptions of the Christian Church of his age. In statements of fact, therefore, respecting Christian history and doctrines, S. Justin may be regarded as most trustworthy.

These writings are now again translated, and placed in the hands of English Churchmen, in the belief that the study of them will not only be most edifying, as giving a picture of the devoted lives of the followers of Christ in those ages of persecution; but also as evidencing what their belief and practice was. We may thus also be assisted in forming a judgment on points on which appeal is made to S. Justin's writings, in connection with the history of our Religion and of its documents. It is only by reading the ancient works themselves that a just opinion can be formed as to the value of the existing evidence: and also as to the degree to which we might fairly expect more.

In respect to these subjects, it is important that a reader should keep in mind the nature and object of these treatises. They are apologetic; addressed to unbelieving

Jews and Gentiles. It is not their primary design to instruct men in the faith or the practices of Christians. The doctrines of our Religion are introduced incidentally only; and we have no more reason to expect a full account of them in S. Justin's writings, than in the 'Evidences' of Paley. These works were intended to remove objections to Christianity, and to induce Gentiles or Jews to believe in Christ as their Saviour, and infallible Teacher. They must first believe that an authoritative Revelation had been made. Instruction in the matter of that Revelation, except in its general character and outline, was reserved for those who thus believed, and humbly sought to know what they should think and do.

Hence it is not to be argued from S. Justin's silence that he did not receive a given doctrine, or from his partial allusion to it that he held no more respecting it than what is thus slightly brought out. For instance, the doctrines of the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, and His Atonement, appear indeed in the Apologies, but in the Dialogue with Trypho they become most prominent. From the account of the Eucharist in the first Apology it might be argued, that it was not regarded as an Oblation, which in the Trypho we distinctly learn was the case. As it is plain how greatly any one would have erred who, supposing that the Trypho had not been preserved, limited Justin's faith to the indications in the Apologies; so may we be reminded, that silence respecting any doctrine in all these treatises does not imply that S. Justin did not recognise it. Thus the effect of the sin of our first parents on mankind just happens to be occasionally mentioned. The doctrine of the need and efficacy of grace is rather implied than expressed. There is no mention of Bishops, or of the constitution of the Christian Society, or of the distinction of Clergy and Laity. We know indeed from other sources what the Christians of this age believed on these subjects. And while S. Justin says nothing to contravene what we learn from them, it is idle to argue from

his silence. The only question is, whether further information was to have been expected from writings of this kind. It is manifestly important to collect the testimonies of the different authorities, and to compare and combine what they severally assert.

Another characteristic belonging to Apologetic writings is the introduction of illustrations and arguments drawn from the opinions and admissions of those to whom they are addressed. Many instances of this will be found. Thus Justin meets the objections which the heathen alleged against the Christian doctrine of the Son of God, by reminding them that they themselves held that their Gods had sons. He adduces many parts of their mythology and their rites as being imitations of the truth. He alleges the doctrines of the philosophers as analogous to Christian doctrines. And there is a disposition to illustrate Christianity in the ideas and language of the prevalent philosophy.

Again, it is to the apologetic character of his argument with Trypho, of which the object was to induce the hearers to believe in our Lord as the Messiah, that we are to attribute the tone in which Justin in one place[f] speaks of those who did not hold the Divinity of the Christ. That he himself regarded this doctrine as fundamental and essential, is plain from the whole argument of the Dialogue, which turns upon it. But he would gladly have won Trypho at least to admit the Messiahship of Jesus, and the consequent authority of His teaching, even if he could not at once receive the truth of His Divinity. He classes for the time the Ebionites who denied it, with Christians, holds them out to Trypho, in proof that his disbelief in our Lord's Divinity need not hinder him from owning Him as the Messiah, but concludes by declaring his own faith, and warning his hearers that "Christ Himself bids us obey not the teaching of men, but what had been foretold by the Prophets, and had been taught by Himself." What S. Justin really

[f] Dial. 48.

thought of those who erred from the faith, the general tone of his writings sufficiently shews.

One point may be mentioned on which erroneous inferences have been drawn from the silence of S. Justin; his knowledge and acceptance of the sacred books of the New Testament. He refers to all the chief facts recorded by the Evangelists, he cites largely the words of the first three, and uses some expressions of the Gospel of S. John, but without mentioning the number of the Gospels, or the names of the Evangelists. He does not mention or cite formally any other book of the New Testament except the Apocalypse. But a study of his treatises will shew that there was no occasion for him to do so. The method of dealing with the unconverted, whether Heathens or Jews, adopted by S. Justin, as by all the Christian Apologists of the early ages, was not to put the Christian Scriptures before them as the instrument of their conversion, or in order to their learning the evangelical doctrines from them. S. Justin states those doctrines, as shewing the way of salvation: he cites largely from the Old Testament, to evince the fulfilment of prophecy; and from the practical teaching of our Blessed Saviour, in order to shew what the general character of Christian morality is. He sought to convince men that JESUS of Nazareth was the Saviour of sinners, and the Divine Teacher; and in order to this among other arguments the purity of His teaching was exhibited. There was no need to adduce that of His Apostles. The like phenomenon, very strange to modern Christians, characterizes the writings of the other Apologists, yet it is as certain as any historical fact can be, that most of the books of the New Testament were well known and used by the Christians of that age, and were the subject of discussion in their controversies with heretics. Thus it has been observed, that while those writings of Tertullian which were designed for Christian readers are replete with Scripture references and citations, his Apology, which was for heathens, gives indeed an outline of Christian doctrine,

and speaks of the Scriptures as the food of the Christian soul, but cites the New Testament once only. As respects the Epistles of S. Paul indeed, it will be seen that S. Justin uses their peculiar expressions, and appears to have been so familiar with them, that he naturally couches his thoughts in the language of the Apostle. So he almost repeats the Apostle's words respecting Abraham: he speaks of "the Man of the Apostacy," "the man of lawlessness," (2 Thess. ii.) (T. c. 110.) He uses repeatedly the expression πρωτότοκος τῆς κτίσεως, (Col. i. 15.) of our Lord. (T. c. 84. 85. 125. 138.) Other instances will be found in the Index of Texts at the end of this Volume. On the whole subject, reference may be made to Mr. Westcott's very valuable work on the Canon, pp. 109—205; and in regard to the references to S. Paul, p. 202—5.

Further, S. Justin says, that the 'records of the Apostles' were read in the religious assemblies of the Christians, together with 'the writings of the Prophets.' This implies that those records were definitely recognised books, and it suggests that they were regarded as of divine authority, as were the writings of the Prophets. Now there is no ground to doubt that the documents which within thirty years afterwards S. Irenæus maintained to be *the* four only Gospels, were those which were read in the churches in the days of S. Justin, which, he says, were written by Apostles, or the companions of Apostles.

S. Justin does indeed mention circumstances which are not recorded in our Gospels: as that our Lord was born *in a cave* at Bethlehem, and that *fire* appeared at His Baptism. Some of those circumstances, or something like them, occur in apocryphal Gospels, and it has been argued that Justin used those writings as authentic records. But the argument taken from the mention of the "cave" assumes, without evidence, the falsehood of the account. S. Justin, born in Palestine and at no great distance from Bethlehem, would naturally learn the fact, if true, on the spot. But there is every ground to believe it to be true. About

70 years after the death of S. Justin, Origen states, "the[g] cave in Bethlehem where Jesus was born, and the crib where He was swaddled, are pointed out." "This," Origen says, "is notorious in the place, even among those alien from the faith." Eusebius, before the Council of Nice, relates, "*even*[h] to this time, those who inhabit the place, as from a tradition which came down from the fathers to them, attest the fact to those who come to Bethlehem to enquire concerning the spots, confirming the truth by pointing out the field [probably, "cave[i]"] where the Virgin deposited the Child which she bare." Here we have not only the same tradition, but the fact, that Christians already came to Bethlehem believing that they should see certain known sacred spots. Adrian, by desecrating the holy birth-place and tomb of Jesus, marked their localities. The idols, by which he profaned the places, transmitted the memory of the spot itself. His act implies the current belief, when he profaned them A.D. 119. For his sole object in desecrating them could be to destroy places, already sacred. Hideous then as it was, "the grove of Thammuz or Adonis" which overshadowed it, and the idolatrous wailings over Adonis, marked, during the 180 years from Adrian to Constantine, the cave where Jesus was born. "In this land of many and large caves," says Von Schubert[l], "as was seen in the old Galilee, not only are the dwellings of men, (built against the rocks, and in their windowless state resembling caves,) often united with a natural grotto, into whose natural dome, enlarged only through the hand of man, a portion of the rooms are prolonged, *but yet oftener* the caves are used for cattle-stalls. The grotto at Bethlehem, with its

[g] c. Cels. i. 51. t. i. p. 377. ed. de la Rue.

[h] Eus. Dem. vii. p. 343.

[i] ἄντρου for ἀγροῦ, according to Eusebius's expression de Vit. Const. iii. 43. τῷ τῆς γεννήσεως ἄντρῳ, "the cave of the Nativity," (add. 41,) Casaub. Excre. 2. c. 1. and Eusebius's own statement that our Lord was born "underground," (ὑπὸ γῆν.)

[k] S. Jerome Ep. 58. ad Paulin. n. 3. S. Paulin. Ep. 31. ad Sever. n. 3.

[l] Reise iii. 17. "Grottoes are stables in Bethlehem still." Stanley, Pal. 153. Cotovicus mentions (p. 226.) the "excisa in cautibus antra."

large side-chambers, offered especial conveniences for this purpose, in that the proper natural entrance (as you may still see) led from the surface of the hill by an even path, down to its lofty broad spaces. So that Justin Martyr was intelligible to every one who knew the country, when he spoke of Christ being born in a cave."

In regard to the kindling of the *fire*, it has been noticed[m] how in one and the same sentence S. Justin relates this, without alleging any authority; but the descent of the Holy Spirit like a dove he states, that "the Apostles of this same our Christ *wrote*[n]." Clearly, then, it was not upon written authority that he rested the supposed fact as to the *fire*. Probably then it was some floating opinion, which S. Justin heard of in one form, the writer of the Gospel used by the Ebionites in another. They agree only in the supposed fact of the fire; but S. Justin places it before the Baptism, the Apocryphal Gospel after the Voice from heaven. S. Justin speaks of it as being "kindled *in* the Jordan," the Apocryphal Gospel as "shining round the place." On this ground also S. Justin could not have had his account from any Apocryphal Gospel[o], which we know of.

An extract from our own Homilies will very well illustrate the way in which such statements may be made. We find two such in one short passage: "Thirdly, ye have the witness and testimony of God the Father, Who *thundered from heaven*, and said, This is my dearly beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased; hear Him. Fourthly, ye have the witness and testimony of the Holy Ghost, which came down from heaven in manner of a *white* dove, and lighted upon Him in time of His Baptism." (Homily on the Nativity, p. 404. Ed. Oxon. 1859.)

The inexact citations from the New Testament, which occur in S. Justin, are paralleled by those which he makes from the Old Testament, both being manifestly derived

[m] Grabe, Spicil. T. i. p. 39.
[n] Dial. c. 88.
[o] as seems to be stated below, p. 184, n.

from memory: though in the case of the New Testament the inexactness is greater, owing to the circumstance that the latter is cited in the way of illustration only, the prophecies of the Old Testament as evidence.

The most important use of the writings of this early age is to be found in the evidence which they afford respecting the doctrines then held by the body of Christians spread throughout the world. It is indeed to us a matter of the highest concern to know assuredly what the truths were which our Blessed Lord and His Apostles taught. And in connection with what we read in Holy Scripture, and that which the Church teaches from Scripture, the testimony given by the Faith of the sub-Apostolic Church is invaluable. The letters of the Apostles were written to persons who had been previously taught, and manifestly were familiar with, a certain body of doctrines; so that the slightest allusion to a doctrine on the part of the writer was sufficient to remind them of it. From this circumstance, and the absence of any formal system of doctrine in the New Testament, doubts are raised as to what the Apostles actually taught: their teaching is represented as having been vague and indefinite: the expressions of their writings are explained away as metaphors, or accommodations, or exaggerations. It is then, surely, a great advantage to us to see the historical evidence which exists, external to and independent of Holy Scripture, as to what the earliest Christians throughout the world agreed in holding as the faith, which they had received on the authority of our Lord and His authorized Ministers. For it is impossible that in so short a time the teaching of the Apostles should have been universally corrupted among those to whom the care and government of the Churches had been committed. It will appear that the Christians undoubtedly believed, that a certain body of positive objective truths had been made known, which rested for their evidence not on reasoning, but on the authority of Christ, through whom they had been revealed; and, further, that these truths

are substantially the same as the Church in all ages has believed and taught, and confirmed by the most simple and natural interpretation of the writings of the Apostles. This consideration is grounded simply on the historical evidence thus afforded to the Apostolic origin of our Faith, without at all taking into account the Divine guidance promised to the Church.

The reader will observe, that throughout these Treatises, in describing the Christian doctrines, Justin sets forth not his own opinion, but what was held and taught by the body of believers. He plainly distinguishes such fundamental tenets from the points on which sound believers differed; as the Millennium, or the allowableness of Jewish Christians continuing to observe the Mosaic law: and again, from the erroneous and blasphemous opinions of numerous heretical sects, the disciples of which bore indeed the name of Christians, but derived their doctrines and their special designations from individual teachers, the authors of their systems. The former class of differences are recognised as permitted; while the errors of the heretics were utterly repudiated by Justin, and the body in whose name he speaks; and those who maintained them, are spoken of in terms of the strongest abhorrence, and with them, he says, "we hold no communion." (See especially the Dialogue with Trypho, chapters 80, 82.)

It is plain that here, and throughout S. Justin's works, there is implied the existence of an organized Body of believers, professing to be guided by the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, and not by the doctrines or arguments of men;—forming a definite society, and holding a definite faith. We at once recognise the Church built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and spread throughout the world, which we see in its first beginnings in the Acts of the Apostles and in their Epistles, and find afterwards described so fully and distinctly by S. Irenæus and Tertullian:—that is, the Body of believers living in communion with, and under the rule of, those who in their respective Churches had been

appointed by the Apostles, and the authorized Pastors of the Churches who succeeded them, who moreover professed to hold simply that which they had been taught as revealed by Christ, and to be implicitly guided by the writings and the public recognised teaching of the Apostles, as opposed to the speculations, however specious, of merely human teachers. This is the most marked and fundamental distinction between the Church and heretics of whatever class. The Catholic Christian regarded his faith as a matter of external Divine Revelation; the heretic held what he held as a philosophy, into which, so far as they happened to coincide, particular facts and doctrines of the Gospel were admitted. But the test of truth in his view was the philosophy, in that of the Catholics the Faith revealed by Christ. S. Justin appreciated this distinction the more from his own experience of the unsatisfying results of human speculation and philosophy.

That Justin on the whole represented faithfully what the universal Church of his own age held, we may feel assured from the fact already noticed, his publishing the Dialogue with Trypho, for the purpose of challenging contradiction if he had been unfaithful in his representations; as well as from the esteem in which his writings were held by the Church of his own and the following age.

It will further be observed, that the question is not affected by the opinions or the talents of the individual writer, except so far as these may affect his character as a witness to the fact of what Christians generally believed. We do not read S. Justin's works, as we read those of S. Athanasius, S. Augustine, or S. Chrysostom, on account of the ability of the author, or his doctrinal precision, or his deep insight into religious truth, but as a record of facts respecting the Church of the second century. An author may be mistaken in the details of his interpretations of Scripture: in his criticism on Hebrew words, on the origin of the Septuagint, or the true text of that

or of the Hebrew Scriptures; he may hold erroneous notions as to the Gentile Philosophy or Mythology, and yet he may be an invaluable witness to the Faith of the Church.

It must be said further, that erroneous notions or explanations may be connected with revealed truths, without impairing the revealed truth itself. It is very necessary to keep in mind, that the doctrine of the Church is to be distinguished from the views and theories formed respecting it, no less than from the arguments by which Theologians maintain it; even though those views be widely spread and generally received. For instance, it is quite certain that the Church held most deeply the true Divinity of our Blessed Lord, though many of the arguments by which Justin would establish it from the Old Testament may seem invalid, and based upon erroneous notions. We may question with S. Augustine, whether the appearances recorded in the early Books of Scripture were those of the Son Himself personally, as S. Justin, in common with almost all Christian antiquity until S. Augustine, so strenuously maintains, without detracting from the exceeding value of his testimony to the great truth which underlies his exposition: the personal Preexistence and Divinity of the Word.

Neither, again, is it to be expected that we should find in the writers of one age explicit statements upon points of doctrine concerning which no question was raised until a later period. Each age has its own ideas and phraseology, and its own controversies. We may indeed reverently and thankfully acknowledge the designs of Almighty God in the fact, that in the luxuriant growth of wild speculation, which sprang up around the Church of the second century, there should have been anticipations of errors which at a later time reappeared in more definite forms, or characterised

p See references in Tertullian de Præscr. c. 14. p. 463, n. f. ed. 3. Dr. Newman's note on S. Ath. Counc. Arim. (Treat. ag. Arian.) p. 120, n. y. Disc. iii. ag. Arian. p. 418, n. h.

some specially energetic heresy; and that thereby, those errors should have been, as it were, condemned by anticipation almost in the age of the Apostles. Thus Justin[q] mentions—and it is the only trace of its existence in that age—the error which afterwards became the characteristic doctrine of the Noetian or Sabellian Schools, and he mentions it only to reject it. Still we have no right to expect such anticipations of the doctrinal phænomena of a later period. We cannot expect, for instance, in S. Justin precise statements of the theory of satisfaction in explanation of the efficacy of our Blessed Lord's Atonement: or an account of the corruption consequent on the Fall exactly like S. Augustin's. We may well be satisfied, if we find, as we do, statements which indirectly and inferentially convey the same truth.

Lastly, it is obvious, and has often been remarked, that there are ways of regarding revealed truths, and many shades of expression which an early writer would not have adopted, if he could have anticipated the inferences which later controversies would have elicited from them, or the interpretations and almost technical meanings which would thereby have attached to them. It is indeed a special gift, when an early writer uses devotional precision of language upon subjects, upon which error had not yet sprung up. Such are presaging spirits, who, by a sort of instinct, foresee where the evil will burst forth. Minds, not gifted with that marvellous intuition, often express themselves the less guardedly, because they imagine no evil. The Church has disused many phrases, not because they *are* amiss, but because they may be taken amiss. Even the most accurate writers used the word "mingling" to express the closeness of union of our Lord's Divine and Human natures. It was disused at last, having been abused by the Apollinarians[r], as was συνάφεια by the Nestorians. Tertullian speaks of "the innocent age" of children some-

[q] Dial. c. 128.

[r] See on Tert. Apol. 21. p. 48, n. h.

what incautiously in regard to Baptism[s], although fully believing the transmission of original sin. S. Augustine notices, that it was "through the Providence of God" that S. Cyprian and his African Council so treated the question of the Baptism on the eighth day, that "the Catholic Church was already confuting the Pelagian heretics who were to arise so long after[t]." So it has been remarked with admiration how S. Athanasius writes "as precisely[u] as if he had written after the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, though without the technical words then adopted:" and the same writer[x] speaks of "those distinct and numerous protests by anticipation against Nestorianism."

Such careful precision of language was not the special gift of S. Justin. His office was to win persons to the Gospel, not to build up those who had been won. Incidental expressions or arguments are to be interpreted by his clear distinct enunciations of belief: his faith is not to be called in question on account of some less carefully worded statements. The supposition, that wherever in the Old Testament God is said to have appeared to man, it was the Son Who so appeared, lasted on to the time of S. Augustine. It is used as an argument of the Divinity of the Son, since He Who so manifests Himself is declared to be God. The supposition itself implied nothing derogatory. What more natural than to think, that He Who, in the fulness of time, vouchsafed to become Man, did beforehand accustom man to the thought of His appearing in human form, by appearing in a form which He had created[y]? Not the supposition itself, (which occurs in the most accurate Fathers, as S. Cyprian, and even S. Athanasius himself,) but statements connected with it, were less carefully worded. But, as has been remarked,

[s] See Tert. de Bapt. c. 18. p. 278, n. o.

[t] c. 2 Epp. Pelag. iv. 8. see on S. Cyprian, Ep. 64. p. 195, n. n. O. T.

[u] Dr. Newman on S. Ath. ag. Arian. p. 244, n. l.

[x] Ib. 291, n. k.

[y] Apol. i. n. 63.

this oversight relates to the Person of the Father as well as to the Son. It might with just as much reason be inferred, (which no one would infer,) that he conceived of God the Father as locally circumscribed in Heaven, as that he imagined the Son to have been so circumscribed on earth[z]. But, in regard to those other expressions to which Petavius objected as unsound[a], as "that the Son ministered to the Father," he himself says, that they are sound or unsound, according to the sense in which the writer uses them[b]. They need mean no more than the words of Holy Scripture, "by Him all things were made;" "by Whom also He made the worlds." They belong to that class of expressions of which S. Athanasius says[c], "If any orthodox believer were to say this in simplicity, there would be no cause to be suspicious of the expression, the orthodox intention prevailing over that somewhat simple use of words."

With these considerations duly kept in mind, we may freely and thankfully study in S. Justin's writings the indications and direct statements of the Faith received by the Christians of the first portion of the second century, that Faith which they believed to have been taught by Christ and His Apostles. In these intimations and statements we recognise the great outlines of the Catholic Faith, one and the same, from the beginning.

The Inspiration of the Prophets is distinctly asserted. The authority of Holy Scripture, its perfect truth and consistency, the need of God's grace in order to our understanding it, are set forth explicitly[d].

The Church is recognised as "the king's daughter all glorious[e]," being the body of believers of all nations and languages; spread throughout the world yet making all one body, "being all as one," believing "as one man,"

[z] Dial. c. 127.
[a] de Trin. ii. 3. 2.
[b] Ib. ii. 4. 7. see also Dr. Newman on S. Ath. ag. Arians, p. 311, i. p. 324, c.
[c] ag. Arians. iii. 59. p. 485. O. T.
[d] Apol. i. c. 33, 35, 36. Dial. c. 7, 8, 65, 119.
[e] Ps. xlv. 13.

"one soul, one congregation, one Church," "constituted by and partaking of His Name," the "Vine of Christ," "the true race of the new Israel, the body of the regenerated." Moreover, the Church is markedly distinguished from the heretics around it, whose doctrines it repudiated, and with whom its members held no communion[f].

The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are declared to be the object of Christian worship[g], and into the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Christians are baptized[h].

What was believed respecting the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, is most plainly seen in Trypho's statement of S. Justin's doctrine, which he himself could not receive; "that[i] this Christ is God, preexisting before all ages, and yet condescending to become man and to be born," (*προυπάρχειν Θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ὑπομεῖναι.*) This seems to be the simple statement of the doctrine which catholic Christians held and professed, independently of all the explanations and illustrations which individuals might connect with it. It is the doctrine which amid the controversies of eighteen hundred years has been held fast as the creed of the Church and the strength of Christian souls. The "Word or Son of God" is never spoken of by Justin otherwise than as being a Person, distinct from the Father: being put forth and begotten of Him, as fire is lit from fire, and being of His substance (*οὐσίας*)[k]. It is indeed a wonderful symbol, as far as created and material things can be symbols of God Who is a Spirit. So that Petavius[l] too says, "What can be added to this profession of faith and of the Trinity? or what has been set forth more express, more significant, or more effectual, in the assembly of the Fathers at Nice itself, or after it? For the formula which was there settled, 'God of God, Light

[f] Dial. c. 35, 42, 63, 110, 116, 117, 135, 138.
[g] Apol. i. c. 6, 13.
[h] Ib. c. 61.
[i] Dial. c. 48. add c. 68.
[k] Dial. c. 61, 128.
[l] de Trin. Præf. c. 3, n. 1, quoted by Bull ii. 4. 3.

of Light, Very God of Very God,' was anticipated so long before by this sentiment of Justin: from which the Consubstantiality also is established, that is, the communion and identity of substance without any partition."

Indeed, in speaking of the relation of the Son to the Father, S. Justin uses dogmatic language, as if he had some error in view, against which he wishes to guard his reader. Such are the expressions, "Who[m] alone is called properly (κυρίως) Son;" and the thrice repeated, "in a way belonging to Him Alone" (ἰδίως). "If moreover we affirm that He was begotten the Word of God, in a way peculiar to Himself, other than the common birth;" "Jesus[n] Christ Alone, in a way peculiar to Himself, only-begotten Son unto God, being His Word and First-born and Power." "For[o] that He was the Only-Begotten unto the Father of all, generated of Him in a way peculiar to Himself, Word and Power, and afterwards becoming Man through the Virgin." Both κυρίως[p] and ἴδιος (as opposed to κοίνος) were used in the Arian controversy to exclude the Arian error. Of this begetting or putting forth Justin speaks as having been before all creation[q]; and, as attempting to express eternity in the language of man, he throws it back before all time, thus understanding the words of the Book of Proverbs, (viii.) πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσά σε[r]. And as the words of Trypho just cited (προυπάρχειν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων) indicate, The Son is held to have had a substantive personal existence from eternity. He made the world. Through Him the Father at all times communicated with His people. It was He that appeared to the Patriarchs of old.

At length He took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and condescended to become man[s], through the power of God[t]. The circumstances of the Annunciation, and the Nativity;

[m] Apol. i. 22.
[n] Ib. 23.
[o] Dial. §. 105, all in Bull, ib.
[p] On κυρίως see Dr. Newman, ag. Arian. p. 18, o. 153, d. 212, g. on ἴδιος see ib. 311, l. 446, 7. on ἰδιότης (in the same reference) see Ib. 40, 6. 41, l. 55, 2. 286, l. 318, 3. See also Bp. Bull, l. c.
[q] Dial. c. 61.
[r] Ib.
[s] Dial. 100.
[t] Apol. i. 32.

the Infancy, the Life, the Works, the Teaching, the Sufferings of our Redeemer, are described as in the Gospel narratives. He was crucified and died for us and for our salvation: He was buried, and the third day He rose again; He ascended into heaven, and sent down the gifts of the Holy Spirit on His Disciples; and at the last He will come again in glory to be our Judge. Then all that have died, whose souls are now waiting in their separate states of peace or woe[w], shall rise again with their own bodies, and shall be adjudged to eternal blessedness, or to eternal suffering[x].

The whole race of mankind are under sin, guilt, and condemnation. These are the consequences of the sin of our first parents, and of the voluntary transgression of each individual of our race[y]. And "the Father of all willed that His Christ should take upon Him the curses of all[z]."

The Death of Christ is the one procuring cause of our salvation, forgiveness, deliverance from sin and Satan. To His Death, His Cross, His Passion, His Blood, His Sacrifice, all spiritual blessings are attributed.

The types of His Death, of Its circumstances and Its effects, are seen throughout the Old Testament, as in the Paschal Lamb, the Brazen Serpent, and the Scape-goat. It is the burden of Prophecy.

We become partakers of the benefits of Christ's Death by repentance and faith: they are conveyed to us by Baptism, whereby we are regenerated; they are secured by a holy life following thereupon.

The rites of Baptism are described[a]: and the recurring weekly celebration of the Holy Eucharist[b].

The doctrine of the efficacy of each Sacrament is stated

[w] c. 5, 80.

[x] For references to other passages which confirm the statements here made, see the Index under the headings 'Word,' 'Christ,' 'Resurrection,' 'Judgment.'

[y] See Dial. c. 88. 101. 125. and Apol. i. c. 10. 61.

[z] Dial. c. 95.

[a] Apol. i. 61.

[b] Ibid.

with clearness and precision. In Baptism, Remission of Sins, New Birth, and illumination are conveyed[c]. It is figured, in close connection with the Cross, by water, as the instrument of deliverance and health throughout the Old Testament[d].

In the Holy Eucharist, what we receive is "not ordinary food," but, "as we are taught," (S. Justin inserts,) "the Flesh and Blood of that Jesus, who was made Flesh[e]." There the Bread and the Cup of Wine mingled with water were offered up in commemoration of His Passion. This was the sacrifice every where offered up by the Christians of all nations[f], which the Prophet Malachi had foretold.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add, that the testimony of all the other extant writings of Christians before and after the time of S. Justin harmonizes with his, and leaves no ground of doubt as to the substance of that body of doctrines which the Catholic Church from the beginning witnessed to as 'the Faith which had once for all,' within a time that admitted of their testimony being received as historical evidence, 'been delivered to the saints.'

The notes subjoined to the text will afford explanations of many difficulties. For those who may wish to investigate the subject more thoroughly, the works of Bp. Bull and of Dr. Waterland will supply much valuable matter on the subject of the Divine Nature of our Blessed Lord; and Bp. Kaye's Treatise affords an excellent Synopsis of the main points of Justin's teaching.

The Editors are indebted for this translation of S. Justin and the notes to the Rev. G. J. Davie, Professor of Classics, and late Tutor in the Theological department of Queen's

[c] Apol. i. 61. Dial. c. 44. 138.
[d] Dial. c. 86. 38.
[e] Apol. i.
[f] Dial. c. 41. 71. 117.

College, Birmingham. Its appearance has been delayed by sorrowful events. Most of it was already printed, when we were suddenly deprived of the manifold labours of our dear friend, the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, and the work was suspended during the long illness, by which, too soon for us, his life of unwearied labour and love was closed below. And now, again, we were waiting, in the hope that one no less dear, the Rev. Dr. BARROW, might be able to complete the Preface, of which he had sketched the outline sometime since, when a mournful disease deprived us of his presence also. I have then revised the unfinished Preface, filling it up here and there with what seemed to me wanting to give a right impression of this early Father and Martyr. *Fiat Voluntas Tua.*

E. B. P.

Christ Church, Whitsuntide, 1861.

THE

TWO APOLOGIES

OF

S. JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

THE FIRST APOLOGY

OF

S. JUSTIN MARTYR

FOR THE CHRISTIANS

TO ANTONINUS PIUS.

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1. To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, to his son Verissimus the philosopher, and Lucius the philosopher[a], the natural son of Cæsar, but the adopted son of Pius, and the lover of learning; and to the sacred Senate, and to the whole people of Rome, in favour of those men of all nations who are unjustly hated and oppressed, I, Justin, the son of Priscus, and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis, a city of Palestine, being one of them, have composed this address and petition. Address.

2. Reason directs that all who are really pious, and truly philosophers, should love that alone which is true, and refuse to follow the opinions of the ancients, should they prove to be worthless; for sound reason requires that we should not only reject those who act, or teach, any thing Appeal to Justice.

[a] Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ. Eusebius, who has translated this exordium of St. Justin, has φιλοσόφου instead of φιλοσόφῳ, and refers the term to Lucius Ælius Verus, the Cæsar and father of Lucius. Valesius, in his note on the passage, whilst admitting that the Mss. are on the whole in favour of the former reading, yet contends for the correctness of the latter: whilst the Benedictine, and Otto, receive the text of St. Justin. In the second section of the second Apology, the same words are repeated; and the Codices of St. Justin read as above φιλοσόφῳ, whilst those of Eusebius, who also cites the whole section, are again found to contain φιλοσόφου. In favour perhaps of Eusebius's reading, is the fact, that Lucius, when St. Justin thus addressed him, was only eight years old.

JUST. MART. contrary to that which is right; but that by every means, and before his own life, the lover of truth ought, even if threatened with death, to choose to speak and to do what is right.

Since, then, you are universally termed pious, and philosophers, and guardians of justice, and lovers of learning; it shall now be seen whether you are indeed such. For we have not come to flatter you by these writings of ours, nor to seek to please by our address; but to make our claim to be judged after a strict and searching enquiry; so that neither by prejudice, nor desire of popularity from the superstitious, nor by any unthinking impulse of zeal, nor by that evil report which has so long kept possession of your minds, you may be urged to give a decision against yourselves. For it is our maxim that we can suffer harm from none, unless we be convicted as doers of evil, or proved to be wicked: you may indeed slay us, but hurt us you cannot.

Claim of enquiry. 3. But lest any should say that this is a senseless and rash assertion, I entreat that the charges against us may be examined; and if they be substantiated, let us be punished as is right[b]. But if no man has any thing of which to accuse us, true reason does not allow you through a wicked report to wrong the innocent, or rather yourselves, who are disposed to direct affairs not by judgment, but by passion; and every soberminded person will think this to be the only good and right proceeding, namely, that the subjects should give a blameless account of their life and doctrine; and that their rulers should, on the other hand, equally give sentence, not under the guidance of violence, and tyranny, but of piety and wisdom. Thus will both prince and people be blessed; for one of the ancients has somewhere said, "Unless the princes and people alike act by philosophy, the city cannot prosper." It is my undertaking, then, to give all men an account both of our life and doctrines; lest, for those who appear to be ignorant of our customs,

[b] The text here adds the words μᾶλλον δὲ κολάζειν, which the Benedictine would alter to ἄλλον δὲ κολάζειν, "let us be punished as it is right to punish another;" i. e. an offender who is not a Christian. We have omitted to translate the words, because we think with Otto and others that they have crept into the text from the margin, where some reader who thought that S. Justin's meaning would be better expressed by the active than by the passive verb, had written μᾶλλον κολάζειν.

we should pay the penalty of those offences which they blindly commit[c]. But it is your duty, as reason requires, when you hear us, to approve yourselves good judges; for you will hereafter be without excuse before God, if, when you know the truth, you do not do that which is just. APOL. I. 4.

4. By a mere name neither good nor evil is implied, apart from the actions which are connected with that name; and we, as far as the name that is laid to our charge goes, must be considered as very good men[d]. But as we should not think it right, if convicted of any crime, to ask to be acquitted for the sake of the name, so on the other hand if we be found guilty of no wrong, either through our name, or through our mode of life, it is your duty to take anxious care that you do not, by unjustly punishing the innocent, justly bring punishment on yourselves. From a name then, neither praise nor blame can rightly spring, unless something be produced good or bad in practice; for you do not punish your own people who are accused, before they are convicted; but with us you take our name for a proof, though as far as that is concerned you ought rather to punish our accusers. We are charged with being Christians[1]; but it is not right to hate that which is good[2]. Again, if any accused person choose to deny verbally that he is such, you send him away, as having no proof that he has done wrong; but should he confess it, you punish him for his confession; though you ought to enquire into the life both of him who confesses, and of him who denies the name, that it may be seen by their actions what kind of person each of them is. For as some who have learnt from their Master Christ not to deny Him, act when interrogated so as to encourage others; in the same manner do evil livers afford perhaps occasion to the ill-disposed to accuse all Christians of impiety and injustice; this also is not right. For many bear the name and garb of philosophers, who do nothing worthy of their

The mere name condemned.

[1] Χριστιανοί. [2] χρηστόν.

[c] This passage seems confused, and different readings are proposed. The conjecture of the Benedictine Editor appears the best, and cannot be far from the sense intended.

[d] S. Justin's meaning is. that they who were accused of being Christians, Χριστιάνοι, ought to be considered no criminals, but very good persons, χρηστοτάτοι. The point of the assertion lies in the close resemblance in sound between the two words Χριστός and χρηστός, which appear to have been confused, for instance, by Suetonius. S. Justin repeats the same a few lines further on. So ἄχρηστοι, §. 46.

JUST. MART. profession; and you know that even those who hold and teach doctrines opposed to the ancients, are called by the same name. Some of these have taught atheism, and your poets deride the uncleanness of Jupiter and his children; and they who adopt these opinions are not silenced by you, but you bestow honours and rewards on those who delicately insult your deities.

Malice of devils. 5. What then! On us who profess to do no evil, and not to hold the above godless doctrines, you make no judicial enquiry; but, impelled by unreasonable passion, and through the instigation of evil demons, you punish us without judgment and reflection. But the truth shall be spoken: these evil demons formerly appeared and defiled women, polluted boys, and made such dreadful exhibitions to men, as to amaze those who did not consider the acts that were done, with judgment; but who, struck with fear, and not knowing them to be devils, termed them gods, and bestowed on them the name which each of them chose for himself. When Socrates endeavoured by true reason and judgment to bring these things to light, and to deliver men from these evil devils, these devils themselves laboured, through the agency of such men as delight in evil, to have him put to death as a godless and profane person; saying, that he introduced new gods. And in like manner they do the same against us; for not only among the Greeks did Socrates these things by word of reason, but also among the Barbaric nations the very Word Himself, Who took a form, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; taught by Whom, we say that those who have acted thus are not only not good spirits, but wicked and unholy demons, whose actions are not equal even to those of men that aim at virtue.

Charge of Atheism. 6. Hence it is that we are even termed Atheists; and we confess ourselves Atheists as regards such beings if they be esteemed as gods, but not with respect to the most true God and Father of righteousness, and sobriety, and all other virtues, and who partakes not of evil; but both Him, and His Son Who came from Him, and taught us these truths, and the host of the other good Angels who follow and imitate Him, and the Spirit of Prophecy, we reverence, and worship, honouring Him in reason, and truth, and freely instructing

See Preface.

every one who wishes to learn as we are taught ourselves. APOL. I. 7. 8.

7. But it may be urged, that some have already been taken and convicted as criminals. Many, no doubt, and often, you condemn, whenever you enquire into the life of each of the accused, but you never condemn these as criminals because of those spoken of above[e]; and this we confess, that as among the Greeks, those who hold doctrines according to their own pleasure, are all called by the one name of philosopher, although their opinions be contrary; so with the Barbarians, both those who are, and those who only pass for being wise, have this common name bestowed on them, for they are all called Christians; hence, we entreat, that all who are accused by you, may be judged for their actions, in order that whoever is convicted may suffer as an evil doer, but not as a Christian; but if he be proved innocent, that he may be dismissed as a Christian who has done no wrong; for we do not wish you to punish our accusers, since they are sufficiently punished by their present wickedness, and ignorance of what is right. Cases of criminality.

8. And do you consider, that we say this for your good. For it is in our power when examined to deny our faith, but we are not desirous of living by the utterance of a falsehood; for, possessed with the desire of a life of eternal duration and purity, and striving for that abode which is above, with God the Father and Maker of all things, we even hasten to confess our faith, persuaded and convinced as we are that they who have shewn before God by their works that they are followers of Him, and lovers of the life that is with Him, where there is no evil to oppose, may obtain these rewards. Briefly then, what we look for, and have learnt from Christ, and what we teach, is as follows; Plato said to the same effect, that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked when they came to them; we say that the same thing will take place; but that the Judge will be Christ, and that their souls will be united to the same bodies, and will undergo an eternal punishment; and not, as he said, a period of a thousand years only. And if any Christians confess their religion.

[e] προλεχθέντας. But we should probably read as Ben. conjectures, προελεγχθέντας, those before convicted.

JUST. MART. tell us that this is incredible or impossible, it is an error of no consequence[f]; as long as we are proved to have done nothing wrong in practice.

Images. 9. We worship not with frequent sacrifices, and garlands of flowers, those whom men have made, and placed in temples, and call gods[g]; for we know that they are senseless, and inanimate, and have not the form of God; (for we do not consider that God has such a form as that in which some say that they represent Him, for the sake of worship,) but have the names, and forms, of those evil demons who have appeared to men; for why should I relate to you who know it, how the workmen manage their materials, carving, cutting, casting, and hammering them, and often from vessels of dishonour, by merely changing their shape through their craft, and giving them a form, they make what they call gods. This we consider not only senseless, but also an insult to God, Who has both a form and a glory ineffable, but whose name is thus transferred to objects that are perishable, and require to be taken care of: and that the artificers of them are intemperate, and not to enter into particulars, practise every kind of wickedness, you well know; and that they corrupt their own women who help them in their work. O fatuity as of one struck by thunder, that licentious men should be said to form and fashion gods for you to worship, and that such should be constituted the keepers of the temples in which they are enshrined, not seeing that it is unlawful even to think, or to say, that men are guardians of the gods[1].

[1] See Baruch vi. 17.

Material sacrifices. 10. And we have learned that God has no need of material offerings from men, seeing that He gives us all things, and we have been taught, and are convinced, and believe, that He only receives those who imitate Him in the virtues which are part of His attributes, temperance, namely, and justice, humanity, and all that is worthy of a God Who is called by no proper[2] name; and we are also taught, that

[2] *θετῷ* see Ap. ii. §. 6. and Cudw. c. iv. §. 14.

[f] Ἡ πλάνη ἔστιν ἄλλου πρὸς ἕτερον. "These words," says the Benedictine, "bear the same meaning as πλάνη ἀλλοπρόσαλλος, an ordinary every day mistake, which if any one object to us, we can easily retort on him some similar failing." Thirlby reads, ἡδὲ ἡ πλάνη ἀλλοῦ, 'This error concerns us, and no one else.'

[g] See notes A and B on the Translation of Tertullian's Apology. Libr. of Fathers, vol. 10. p. 109.

He in His goodness created all things in the beginning from shapeless matter, for the sake of men, who, if by their works they approve themselves worthy of His design, shall, we believe, be thought worthy of a dwelling with Him, there to reign with Him free henceforth from corruption and suffering. For as He created us at first when we were not, so also we believe that He will hold those who choose what is pleasing to Him worthy, because of their choice, of immortality and of dwelling with Himself. For though our birth was not originally our own doing, yet in order that we may choose to follow what is pleasing to Him, He, by the reasonable faculties which He has bestowed on us, both persuades us, and leads us, to faith; and we think that it is to the benefit of all men, that they are not prohibited from the knowledge of these things, but are even urged to turn their attention to them; for what human laws were incapable of doing, that the Word, which is Divine, would effect, were it not that the evil demons, aided by the wicked and varied inclination to evil, which is in the nature of every man, have scattered about so many false and godless accusations, of which none apply to us. Apol. I. 11, 12.

11. And, when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you rashly conclude that we mean a human one, although we declare that it is to be that which is with God, as is proved by the fact, that, when examined by you, we own ourselves to be Christians; though we know that for every one who confesses this, the punishment is death: for, if we expected a human kingdom, we should deny our name that we might escape destruction, and should endeavour to elude you, that we might obtain our expectations. But since we fix not our hopes on the present, we take no thought when men murder us, knowing that all must assuredly die. The heavenly kingdom.

12. We in fact are, above all men, your helpers and assistants in the promotion of peace, who hold these doctrines, that it is impossible for the worker of wickedness, or the covetous, or the treacherous, or again for the virtuous man, to escape the notice of God, and that every one is advancing either to eternal torment, or to salvation, according to the quality of his actions; for if all were aware of this, no man would be found to prefer sin for a season, knowing that he was passing Effects of Christianity.

JUST. MART. to eternal condemnation through fire, but he would by every means practise self-control, and adorn himself with virtue, that he might obtain the blessings of God, and escape His punishments; for it is not because of the laws and punishments which you have instituted that men try to hide their misdeeds, but they commit their offences, as knowing that since you are but men, it is possible to elude you; if however they knew, and were assured, that it is impossible to deceive God in any thing, not only in their actions, but even in their thoughts, they would by every means be well conducted, if only on account of His threatened punishments, as even you yourselves will allow.

But you appear to dread lest all men should become doers of good, and you no longer have any left to punish; this might be a cause of concern to the hangman, but never to upright princes. I am persuaded, however, that these things also, as I have said, are the doing of wicked spirits, who exact sacrifices and worship even from those who live contrarily to reason; but I suppose that you who aim at piety and philosophy, will do nothing unreasonable, but if you, like the senseless, prefer custom to truth, do what you can; even princes who place popular opinion before truth are no better than robbers in a desert; and the Word declares that you shall not prosper in your doings; that Word no other than Whom, after God the Father, we know to be the most noble and just Prince. For as all wish to escape inheriting the poverty, or sufferings, or disgrace of their fathers, so, whatever the Word forbids us to choose, of that the man of sense will not make choice. That all these things should come to pass, our Teacher, I say, Jesus Christ, Who is both the Son, and the Apostle, of God the Father, and Ruler of all things, foretold; (from Whom also we are called Christians;) hence we are confirmed in all that He has taught us, for every thing that He foretold should come to pass is seen to be fulfilled in fact; for it is the work of God to foretell beforehand, as He has done, an event, and then to shew it taking place as it was foretold. I might even now conclude, and add nothing more, under the supposition that we ask what is both just and true; but as I know that it is not easy to effect a sudden change in a mind wholly occupied

by ignorance, I have determined, in order to persuade those who love truth, to add a little more, knowing that it is not impossible, by the production of truth, to dissipate ignorance. APOL. I. 13.

13. That we are not Atheists, therefore, what moderate person will not confess, from our worship of the Creator of this universe, Whom we assert, as we have been taught, to have no need of sacrifices of blood, and libations, and incense, but Whom we praise to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer, and thanksgiving, in all our oblations, [1]having been instructed, that the only service that is worthy of Him is, not to consume by fire what He has given us for our sustenance, but to apply it to our own benefit, and to that of those who are in need, and, shewing ourselves grateful to Him, in speech to offer Him solemn acts of [2]worship[g] and hymns, for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities of things, and for the changes of seasons, and putting up prayers that we may have a resurrection to incorruptibility, through our faith in Him. Our Teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, Who was even born for that purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; Whom, having learned Him to be the Son of the Very God, and holding Him to be in the second place, and the Spirit of Prophecy in the third, I will prove that we worship with reason. From this however people accuse us of madness, affirming that we assign the second place after the Immutable and Eternal God and

Whom Christians worship.

[1] Mede, p. 157, 8.

[2] πόμπας καὶ ὕμνους

[g] πόμπας καὶ ὕμνους. The Benedictine says on these words, "It is sufficiently plain that hymns and psalms are here meant, as well the Psalms of David as the hymns composed by the Christians which used to be sung in Churches. The pompæ are nothing more than those rites, and ceremonies, which were practised in the celebration of the Sacraments, especially Baptism and the Eucharist; but they are not commonly taken for the Sacraments themselves (mysteria)." He proceeds to cite the words of St. Cyril of Jerusalem; "What are the pompæ" [of the heathen] "but the insanities of the theatres, the courses of the horses in the hippodromes, the huntings in the circus, and other vanities of the like kind?" And, he continues, "Because these things were done by them in honour of their gods; but the Christians, who eschewed such superstitions, appeared to retain no such worship; therefore S. Justin teaches that they have their *pompæ*, but that they celebrate them with reason and truth." Grabe, however, observes, that "pompæ" means, not as the Benedictine understands it "rites and ceremonies," but the solemn prayers which were uttered with great vehemence, and were chiefly used in the celebration of the Sacraments.

JUST. MART. Father of all things, to a crucified man; not knowing the mystery that is herein; to which I entreat you to give heed, as I proceed to explain it.

Devils hate Christian holiness.

14. But I forewarn you to beware, that those devils whom I have already accused, do not deceive you, and altogether pervert you from reading and understanding what is said, (for it is their endeavour to gain you as their slaves and assistants; and at one time through visions of the night, at another by means of magical impostures, they take captive all who do not make any effort for their own salvation,) as we also since we have believed in the Word have withdrawn from them, and now follow the only unbegotten God through His Son; we, who formerly gave loose to fornication, now only strive after purity; we, who took delight in arts of magic, now dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we, who loved the path to riches and possessions above any other, now produce what we have in common, and give to every one who needs; we, who hated and destroyed one another, and would not make use even of the same fire with those of another tribe, because of their different customs; now, since the coming of Christ, live together, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who hate us unjustly, that all who have lived in accordance with the good precepts of Christ, may come to a good hope of obtaining from God, the Ruler of all things, the same reward as ourselves. But, lest you should suspect me of sophistry, I think it best before proceeding to my proofs, to bring forward a few extracts from the teaching of Christ; and be it yours, as mighty Emperors, to judge whether we have taught and do teach truly. His expressions are brief, and concise, for He was no sophist, but His Word was the power of God.

Our Lord's teaching. Chastity Matt. 5, 28. &c. Mat. 18, 9. Matt. 5, 32. Mat. 19, 12.

15. On chastity then, He spoke thus: *Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of Heaven with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into everlasting fire.* And, *Whosoever shall marry her that is divorced from her husband, committeth adultery.* And, *There are some who are made eunuchs of men, and*

some who were born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake, but all cannot receive this saying. So that all who, by human law, contract second marriages[h], are sinners in the eye of our Master, and they who look upon a woman to lust after her; for not only is the man who commits adultery in fact, rejected by Him, but even he who does so in will, since not only are our works manifest to God, but even our very wishes. And there are many men and women, of sixty and seventy years of age, who were disciplined to Christ from their youth, and now remain spotless; and it is my pride to be able to produce such from every nation. What shall I say, too, of that countless multitude, who have laid aside their former licentiousness, and learned these things? For Christ called not the righteous, and the temperate, to repentance; but the wicked, and the intemperate, and the unjust, speaking as follows, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* For our Heavenly Father would rather the repentance of a sinner, than his punishment. Apol. I. 15. Matt. 9, 13.

And, on the love that we should bear to all men, He taught thus; *If ye love them which love you, what new thing do ye? for even fornicators do the same. But I say unto you, pray for your enemies, love those that hate you, and bless them which curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.* And to incite us to communicate to those who have need, and to do nothing for praise, He said, *Give to every one that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away;* or, *If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive again, what new thing do ye? This even the Publicans do. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moth and rust doth not corrupt. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul; or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? Lay up for yourselves therefore* Charity. Matt. 5, 46. Luke 6, 27. 28. Matt. 5, 42. Luke 6, 30. 34. Matt. 6, 19. 20. Luke 9, 25. Matt. 6, 20.

[h] διγαμίας. The Benedictine observes on this passage, that S. Justin does not by the word διγαμίας reprehend those who contract a second marriage, but such as are guilty of bigamy; because the citations produced by him are silent as to the former, but are expressly directed against the latter; or he considers that the word in question may possibly, but with less propriety, be intended to express adultery. p. 52. note d.

Just. Mart. *treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt.*
Matt. 5, 44. 45. *Be you kind and merciful, as your Father is kind and merciful, Who maketh His sun to rise upon sinners, on the just and on*
Matt. 6, 31. *the evil. Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on; are ye not much better than birds and beasts? And yet God feedeth them. Be not therefore solicitous what ye shall eat, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed, for your Father which is in heaven knoweth that ye have need of these things; but seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all things shall be added unto you. For where the treasure is, there also is*
Matt. 6, 1. *the mind of man. Do not these things to be seen of men, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.*

Patience. 16. And what He said about being patient and ready to
Matt. 5, 39. 40. assist all men, and free from anger, is as follows; *Whosoever shall smite thee on thy cheek, turn to him the other also; and him that would take away thy cloak or thy coat, forbid not.*
Matt. 5, 22. And, *Whosoever is angry is in danger of the fire; whosoever*
ver. 16. *shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see them, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* For we ought not to be guilty of strife, nor would He have us followers of the wicked, but He has urged us, by patience and meekness, to convert all from shame and the lust of evil; and this I can shew to have taken place in the case of many that have come in contact with us, who were overcome, and changed from violent and tyrannical characters, either from having watched the constancy of their neighbours' lives, or from having observed the wonderful patience of fellow-travellers under unjust exactions, or from the trial they made of those with whom they were concerned in business.

Against swearing. And with regard to abstaining from swearing, and always speaking the truth, He has commanded as follows; *Swear not*
Matt. 5, 34. 37. *at all; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these is of evil.* And He thus persuaded
Mat. 22, 37. 38. Mark 12, 30. us to worship God alone, and no other; *This is the greatest commandment, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength,* the Lord thy God which made thee. And when
Mat. 19, 16. 17. one came to Him and said, *Good Master,* He answered, *There*

is none good but God only, Who made all things. But let those who are not found to be living as He has commanded, be assured, that they are not Christians at all; even though with the tongue they confess the doctrines of Christ. He has declared, that not the sayers only, but those who are also doers, shall be saved. His words are as follows; *Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven: for whosoever heareth Me, and doeth what I say, heareth Him that sent Me. For many will say unto Me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in Thy Name, and done wonders? And then will I say unto them, Depart from Me, ye that work iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine forth as the sun, but the wicked are sent into everlasting fire. For many shall come to you in My name clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their works. But every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.* And we entreat that they who are not living according to His commandments, but who are only called Christians, may be punished also by you.

Apol. I. 17.

Matt. 7, 21. &c.

Mat. 13, 42. 43.

Matt. 7, 15. 16.

Ver. 19.

17. We every where, before all things, endeavour to pay tribute and taxes to those whom you appoint, as we were taught by Him; for persons once at that time came to Him on that subject, to ask Him whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, or not; and He answered, *Tell me whose image this coin bears? and they said, Cæsar's: but He answered them again, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Hence we render worship to God alone, but we serve you gladly in other things, acknowledging you to be kings, and rulers of men, and praying that you may be found to unite to your imperial power, sound wisdom also. But if you disregard our prayers, and public professions, we shall suffer no loss, since we believe—I should rather say, we are fully convinced—that each will suffer punishment by eternal fire, according to the demerit of his actions; and that an account will be required of every one in proportion to the powers which he received from God, as Christ has declared in these

Civil obedience.

Mat. 22, 20. 21.

JUST. MART. Luke 12, 48.

words, *For unto whomsoever God has given much, of him shall the more be required.*

Doctrine of Resurrection.

18. For look back to the end of each of the Emperors, how they died the death which is common to all men, which, if it terminated in insensibility, would be a godsend[1] to all the wicked; but since sensation remains in all men who have been in existence, and everlasting punishment is in store, do not hesitate to believe, and be convinced, that what I say is true. And indeed, let even necromancy, and the divinations[2] by uncontaminated children[h], and the invocation of human souls, and those who are termed by the magicians senders of dreams and familiars, together with the actions of those who are acquainted with these things, persuade you that souls are in a state of sensation even after death; and those who are seized and dashed down by the souls of the dead, whom all term demoniacs, and insane, and your oracles as you term them, of Amphilochus, Dodona, Pytho, and others of the same kind, with the doctrines of your writers Empedocles, and Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates, and the ditch of Homer[3], and the descent of Ulysses to see the dead, and the testimony of those who have taught the same as these. Do you receive us then in the same manner as you receive them, for we believe in God no less than they, but more, for we expect to receive our bodies again, even after they are dead and are cast into the earth, affirming that with God nothing is impossible.

[1] Ἑρμαῖον

[2] ἐποπτεύσεις

[3] Od. xi. 25.

Its credibility.

19. And what would appear more incredible to a thoughtful person, than, if we had not a body and one asserted that from a small drop of human seed, it was possible for sinews and flesh to be created in the form we see? granting this to be said hypothetically. If, I say, when you were not in your present forms, and born of parents like yours, one shewed you human seed, and the picture of a man, and affirmed that such a being could be produced from the former, would you, before you saw it actually come to pass, believe it? No one would venture to deny (that he would not

[h] Ed. Ben. refers to Tertullian, Apol. §. 23. Human sacrifices for divination are alluded to by Eusebius in his History vii. 10. Socrates iii. 13. Clementine Recognitions ii. 13. and see the Dialogue with Trypho, §. 105. But here, as in Tertullian, the children seem to have been employed by some means to obtain and utter oracles, as indeed has been done recently.

believe it); for the same reason then, because you have never yet seen a man rise from the dead, unbelief has possession of you; but as at first you would not believe that it was possible for men to be created such as they are from this little drop of fluid, and yet you see that they are; consider, that in the same manner when human bodies have undergone dissolution, and, like seed, are resolved into dust, it is not impossible that they should in time, and at the command of God, rise again, and put on immortality: for what power at all worthy of God, is ascribed to Him by those who assert, that every thing will return to that from which it was created, and that beyond this not even God Himself is able to do any thing more. We cannot say; but of this we are sure, that these would not have believed it possible that they could ever be such as they see that both they and the whole universe are, and created from such materials. We consider it better to believe even in what is impossible to our nature and to men, than, like the rest, to be without belief: for we know that our Master Jesus Christ has said, that *what is impossible with men, is possible with God;* and, *Fear not them that kill you, and after that have no power to do any thing; but fear Him Who after He hath killed is able to cast both soul and body into Gehenna.* This Gehenna is a place where all will be punished who live unrighteously, and who believe not that what God has taught through Christ, will come to pass.

Apol. I. 20.

Mat. 19, 26.

Mat. 10, 28.

20. And the Sibyl, and Hystaspes, have said, that there should be a dissolution of things corruptible, by fire; and those philosophers who are termed Stoics, teach that God Himself shall be resolved into the same element, and say, that again, after this change, the world shall be formed anew; but we know, that God, the Creator of the Universe, is superior to all things mutable. If therefore we assert on certain points things like those poets and philosophers whom you honour, but speak on others more convincingly and divinely than they, and if we only have proof, why are we thus unjustly hated beyond all? For in our assertion that all things were ordered and created by God, we are found to speak the language of Plato, and, in our opinion that there will be a conflagration, we use that of the Stoics; but in our doctrine

Heathen sayings.

JUST. MART. that the souls of the wicked will be punished, and are in a state of sensation after death; whilst those of the righteous are freed from torment, and remain in bliss; we teach like the poets and philosophers. In denying that we ought to worship the work of men's hands, we agree with Menander the Comedian, and others of his opinion; for they have said that the workman is greater than his work.

Men deified by Heathens.

21. And, when we say that the Word, Who is the first-begotten of God, and our Master Jesus Christ, was born without sexual union; and that He was crucified, and died, and rose again, and ascended into Heaven, we introduce nothing different to that which you say of those whom you call the sons of Jupiter; for you are aware how many sons the writers of repute among you assign to him: Mercury, the interpreting word, and the teacher of all; Æsculapius also, who as being also the healer of diseases, was struck by a thunder bolt, and ascended into Heaven; Bacchus, who was torn in pieces; Hercules, who committed himself to the flames to escape his sufferings; and the Dioscuri, sons of Leda; and Perseus the son of Danäe; and Bellerophon, the son of human parents, on his horse Pegasus[i]; and what shall I say of Ariadne, and those who, like her, are said to have been placed among the stars? And why do you always think right to deify your departed Emperors, and produce one to swear that he saw Cæsar ascend to Heaven from his funeral pile[k]? Nor is it necessary for me to recount to you who know them already, what kind of actions are ascribed to each of those who are termed the sons of Jupiter; except that they are recorded for the corruption and ruin of your youth[l], for every one thinks it good to be imitator of the gods. But be such a thought of the gods far from every pure mind, to suppose that Jupiter himself, whom they

[i] *ὑφ' ἵππου.* For confirmation of our version we may with the Benedictine refer to §. 54. of this Apology, "And they say that Bellerophon himself, a man born of human parents, went up into Heaven upon his horse Pegasus," *ἐφ' ἵππου Πηγάσου.*

[k] Ben. refers to Suetonius, Vit. Augusti. and the derision of the practice by Seneca in his Colocyntosis. Tatian. ii. 10, and Tertullian, 1. ad Nat. c. 10. and lib. ii. c. 7.

[l] Corruption and ruin of your youth. We follow the Benedictine edition in thus rendering these words. The Ms. text is *διαφόραν καὶ προτρόπην*, the profit and incitement. Otto, with Decker, and Braunius, retain these words, considering them to be spoken in irony.

make the chief and father of all, was both a parricide and the son of a parricide; and when overcome by the lust of base and shameful pleasures, he descended upon Ganymede, and the many women whom he debauched, and that his sons committed the like actions. But, as I said before, the evil demons have done these things. We, however, have been taught, that they only will attain to immortality, who lead holy and virtuous lives like God; and we believe, that all who live wickedly, and do not repent, will be punished in eternal fire. APOL. I. 22, 23.

22. But the Son of God, who is called Jesus, even if only and merely man, is worthy for His wisdom of being called the Son of God: for all your writers term God, the Father both of men and of gods; and if we affirm that the Word, Who is of God, was begotten of God even in a peculiar manner, and beyond the ordinary generation; as I have already said, let this be common[l] to you who affirm Hermes to be the messenger-word from God; and should any object that Christ was crucified, I maintain that this was also common, according to you, to the forementioned sons of Jupiter, who underwent suffering. In their case, indeed, the sufferings of death are not recorded to have been similar, but different. So that He appears not to be behind them even in His peculiar manner of suffering; nay I will prove, as I have undertaken to do in the previous part of my defence, that He was even their superior in this respect, or rather as I have already done; for He Who is the superior shews it by His actions. But if we affirm that He was born of a Virgin, you also may take this as held in common of Perseus; and when we declare that He made the lame, paralytic, and blind[m] from their birth, whole, and that He raised the dead to life, even the like actions to those which are said to have been done by Æsculapius, may we be thought to assert of Him. Heathen traditions of sons of Gods dying, &c.

[l] κοινον

23. And that this also may be made plain to you, that whatever things we assert, having learnt them from Christ, and the Prophets who preceded Him, are alone Three things to be proved.

[m] Blind. The original reading is πονηρους, the evil; but it is plain, as the Benedictine says, that we should substitute τυφλους, which is also found in the Dialogue, §. 69. and in §. 60. of this Apology; in the former of which passages it must evidently be taken, as he observes, to mean blind.

JUST. MART. true, and more ancient than all writers; and that not because we say the same as they, we claim to be believed, but because we state the truth; and that Jesus Christ alone is properly the Son of God, as being His Word, and First-begotten, and Power, and that being made man by His will, He taught us these doctrines for the renewal and restoration of mankind[n]; and (lastly) that before He was born as a man among men, some,—I allude[o] to those evil spirits of whom I have already made mention,—by the instrumentality of the poets spoke, in anticipation, of these things which they described in the fables that they constructed, as already accomplished, in the same manner as they did also those infamous and impious actions which are alleged against us, and of which they have neither witness nor proof; I shall produce the following arguments.

Christians alone persecuted for religion.

24. But I must observe, in the first place, that while we say things of like sort as do the Greeks, we only are hated for the name of Christ; and when doing no ill, are put to death as criminals; whilst other men, in other places, worship trees and rivers, mice, cats, crocodiles, and almost all other irrational animals; nor are the same objects held in reverence by all, but different nations worship different things, so that all are godless in the eyes of one another, because they worship not the same things; which is all you have to accuse us of, namely, that we do not worship the same gods as yourselves; nor offer to the dead libations, and fat, and coronals for their statues[p], and sacrifices; for the

[n] Mankind. "St. Justin here undertakes to prove three things. First, that Christian doctrines alone are true, (which follows well on what he had said before, of their great resemblance to some of those which are held by the poets and philosophers); secondly, that the Son of God was incarnate; thirdly, that demons, by means of the fictions of the poets, before His Incarnation, turned many aside from believing in that mystery. In support of which he shews in §. 24. that it is Christians alone who defend the truth: in §. 30. that the Son of God was incarnate: and in §. 53. that the fables of the poets were invented by the fraud of devils, to the detriment of the human race." Bened. note.

[o] The exact rendering is as follows: "Some, in anticipation by means of those already spoken of as evil demons, spoke, through the poets, of these things as already accomplished;" but the Benedictine asks, who are they that were moved by these devils to feign these things through the poets? and he proposes to give a meaning to the passage, by the simple alteration of *διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κάκους δαιμόνας*, to *λέγω δὲ τοὺς κ.τ.λ.* a correction which we have followed in the text.

[p] *γράφαις.* Among other proposed alterations of this word, Thirlby would change it to *τάφοις*; but the Benedictine proves that no emendation is required, as *γράφαις* is used for statues, as well as pictures. He cites Himerius ap. Photium, cod. 243. p. 1127. Basil. de Bapt. c. ii. §. 23. and Greg. Naz.

same animals are considered by some to be gods; by others, to be wild beasts; and by others still, to be sacrificial victims, as you well know. APOL. 1.25,26.

25. And, secondly, we who from every nation formerly worshipped Bacchus, the son of Semele; and Apollo, the son of Latona; whose practices with men it is shameful even to mention; and Proserpine, and Venus, who were maddened for love of Adonis, and whose mysteries also you celebrate; or Æsculapius, or any other of those who are called gods; do now, although threatened with death for it, hold them, through Jesus Christ, in utter contempt; and dedicate ourselves to God, the Unbegotten, and Impassible; who we are persuaded was never urged by lust to descend on Antiope, and other women likewise; nor on Ganymede, nor was released by assistance obtained through Thetis of that hundred-handed giant; nor was anxious, in return, that Achilles her son should, because of his concubine Briseïs, bring death on so many of the Greeks; and we feel pity for those who believe these things, but their authors we know to be devils. Christians believe nothing unworthy of God.

26. Thirdly; after the ascension of Christ into Heaven, the devils put forward certain men who styled themselves gods, who not only were not persecuted by you, but were even deemed worthy of honours. There was Simon of Samaria, a native of a village called Gitto, who in the time of Claudius Cæsar, through the craft of the devils working by his means, performed acts of magic, and was held in your royal city of Rome to be a god, and was honoured by you with a statue like a god, which was raised on the river Tiber, between the two bridges, bearing this inscription in the Roman language, "To Simon the holy god[q]," whom Heretics tolerated.

Orat. iii. p. 83. (ed. Fen. Or. iv. §. 81. p. 117.) where the word seems to be used so as to include statues.

[q] "Simon the holy god." There have been great diversities of opinion as to St. Justin's correctness in this assertion. Besides himself, this statue is mentioned among early writers by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Theodoret, and St. Augustin. St. Irenæus merely says, that "Simon is reported to have been honoured with a statue in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, because of his skill in magic." Adv. Hæres. i. 20. Tertullian speaks more decidedly, "Simon was inaugurated with the statue and inscription 'of the holy god.'" Apol. §. xiii. Eusebius, ii. 13. and Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. Lect. vi. 9. follow the account of St. Justin. Theodoret tells us, that Simon's was made of brass, Her. Fab. i. 1. And St. Augustin, de Hæres. i. says, that Simon erected his own image, and that of Helena at Rome, by public authority, as if they were

JUST. MART. almost all the natives of Samaria, with a few of other nations, confess to be the first god, and worship; and a certain Helena, who travelled about with him at that time, and had formerly exposed herself in the Stews[r], they term the first idea generated from him. I know too, that one Menander, another Samaritan of the village of Capparatæa, and a disciple of Simon, was also influenced by devils, and when in Antioch he deceived many by means of his magic, and he even persuaded his followers that they should never die, which some of his disciples still believe. And there is a Marcion of Pontus[s], who is even now teaching his disciples to believe in another and greater god than the Creator. He, by the assistance of devils, has made many of every nation utter blasphemies, denying the Creator of this universe to be God, and causing them to confess another, who as being a greater god has done greater things than He. All who come of these are, as I have said, called Christians; just as those who do not agree with the philosophers in their doctrines, yet bear the common title which is derived from philosophy. Whether or not these people commit those shameful and fabulous actions,—the putting out the lights, indulging in promiscuous intercourse, and eating human flesh, I know not; but that they are not persecuted and put to death by you, at least for their opinions, I do know. I have by me, however, a treatise, composed against all the heresies that have existed, which, if you wish to peruse it, I will present to you.

images of the gods. The chief argument against the assertion of these Fathers, is derived from the fact, that in the year 1574, a fragment of marble was dug up at the spot described by St. Justin, bearing the inscription "Semoni Sanco Deo Fideo," which St. Justin and the others are supposed to have mistaken for Simoni Deo Sancto; whether it had ever been a statue at all, or any part of one, seems very doubtful; and Theodoret, as we have seen, asserts, that that of Simon was of brass. The reader will find the whole question of this inscription most fully and ably discussed by the late Dr. Burton, in the 42d note of his Bampton Lectures, to which he has also affixed a copious list of authorities on each side of the question. And see Tertullian, Apol. 1. §. 13. page 32. Lib. Fathers, Vol. 10.

[r] Eusebius, in his citation of this passage from St. Justin, has added the words "in Tyre of Phœnicia," History, ii. 13. with whom St. Irenæus, adv. Hær. i. 20. and St. Epiphanius, Hær. 20. §. 2. agree.

[s] Marcion was one of the Docetic class of Gnostics, a pupil of Cerdo, and, according to St. Gregory Nazianzen, a follower of the doctrines of Simon Magus. Like many other Gnostics, he distinguished between Jesus and Christ, and held that the Creator of the world was not the Supreme God, but was evil in Himself, and the Author of evil. In consequence, he denied the Resurrection of the body. St. Irenæus ad. Her. i. Tertull. prescript. Hæret. Theodoret Her. Fab. i. 24. Epiphan. Her. xlii. Tillemont.

27. We however, to avoid bringing oppression on any one[t], or sinning ourselves, are taught that it is unlawful to expose even new-born children; in the first place, because we see almost all those that are so, not only the females, but also the males, trained to purposes of prostitution, and as the ancients are said to have kept herds of oxen, or goats, or sheep, or grazing horses, so you now use boys only for this shameful purpose; and there are in every nation herds of females, hermaphrodites, and unnatural persons, waiting for hire to this pollution; from whom you accept wages, offering, and tribute, when you ought to root them out of our land; any one of those too who hire them, in addition to his godless, unhallowed, and impure intercourse, may chance to be connected with his own child, relative, or brother; and on the other hand there are those who prostitute even their own children and wives: some too are mutilated openly for purposes of sodomy, and these mysteries they refer to the mother of the gods. Moreover, by the side of each of those whom you consider gods, the serpent is painted, a great symbol and mystery. In fact, the things that you yourselves do openly, and hold in honour, as if the Divine light were overthrown and removed[u], you ascribe to us. This, to us who are wholly innocent of committing any such crimes, does no manner of harm, but rather to those who commit them, and falsely accuse us of them.

Apol. I. 27, 28. Christians abhor Prostitution.

28. For with us the prince of the evil spirits is called a serpent, and Satan, and the devil, as you may learn even from an examination of our writings. He will be sent into fire with his host, and the men who are his followers, there to be tormented to an endless eternity, as Christ has foretold. The delay of God in not yet having brought this to pass, is for the sake of the human race; for He foreknows that some will be saved by repentance, some even that are not yet perhaps born; for in the beginning he made man with

End of Satan and his abettors.

[t] Bringing oppression on any one, διωκῶμεν. Grabe and others would substitute ἀδικῶμεν; but the Benedictine, whom we follow in the text, thinks that διωκῶμεν should be retained, as better expressing St. Justin's meaning, which is, that Christians hold it unlawful to expose their children, lest they should be the cause of wrong or oppression being done by their not being found, or, if found, of their being brought up to flagitious courses, which he shews to be a probable result. Note c. p. 60.

[u] The Ben. Editor takes these words as connected with the following, referring to the alleged extinction of lights. There is *allusion* to this, but probably of a more distant kind.

JUST. MART. understanding, and with the power of choosing the truth, and of acting uprightly, in order that all men might be without excuse before Him, for they were created with reason, and contemplation. If, therefore, any one shall not believe that God regards these things, or conclude indirectly[x] that He has no existence, or affirm that He is, but takes pleasure in evil, or that He resembles a stone, and that neither virtue, nor vice, are any thing, but men consider them to be good or bad in opinion only, this is the greatest impiety and injustice.

Continence of Christians. 29. And again, another reason against exposing infants is, lest any one of them may not be found, but may perish, and we be homicides. But we either do not marry at first, unless to bring up children; or, declining it, we live in continence; and to prove to you that promiscuous connection is not a mystery of ours, one of our number presented a petition to Felix the Prefect of Alexandria, to entreat permission to be made an eunuch[y], for, without the sanction of that officer, the physicians of the place said that they were prohibited from performing the operation; and when Felix would by no means consent to sign his petition, the young man remained single, and was satisfied with his own conscience, and the consciences of those who were of the same

[x] "Conclude indirectly." ὁμολογήσει διὰ τεχνῆς. The Benedictine explains this of "the asserting a thing not openly and plainly, but with a sort of artifice," Justin urging his opponents not with what they directly stated, but with what necessarily followed from their assertions. So, in the Dialogue with Trypho, §. 54. he uses the same expression in reference to Genesis xlix. 11. The doctrine which he educes from that passage of Holy Scripture (viz. that Christ's blood, like the blood of the grape, was formed by God alone) does not immediately follow therefrom, but may be concluded διὰ τῆς τέχνης. Bened. note a. page 61.

[y] The 22d, 23d, and 24th, of the Apostolic Canons treat of this subject. The 22d forbids the self-mutilated from being received into the ranks of the Clergy. The 23d directs those already ordained who are guilty of this offence, to be deprived; and the 24th orders laymen to be excommunicated for three years.

The first Canon of the Council of Nice repeats the rule of the 22d and 23d of the Canons of the Apostles: no doubt with reference to the recent case of the Arian Leontius, then a presbyter, but afterwards uncanonically promoted by his party to the see of Antioch. The common law prohibited the practice under pain of death both to subject and operator. Cabassutius on the 1st Canon of Nice.

We learn from St. Augustine, Her. xxxvii. and St. Epiphanius, Her. lviii. that there was a body of heretics in the second century termed Valesians, whom a literal interpretation of St. Matthew xix. 12. led, as with Origen, to the commission of this act. Eusebius vi. 8.

The case of Leontius was a clear infraction of Ecclesiastical law, and, as such, it was protested against by the Church; but it is not quite certain whether the Apostolical Canons were in existence when Origen fell into the same snare, or whether they were framed in consequence of his act, to meet such a case in future. See Beveridge's Pandect, ii. p. 24. and Codex Canonum, cap. iv. §. 1. The author of the piece De Virginitate, ascribed to St. Basil, speaks as if the custom existed to a considerable extent in his day. St. Basil, vol. iii. §. 62. page 647 A.

mind with himself; and I do not think it irrelevant to allude in this place even to Antinoüs, who is lately dead, whom all were eager with fear to worship as a god[z], although they knew both who he was, and what was his origin. Apol. I. 30, 31.

30. But lest any should ask us in objection, what prevents Him Whom we call Christ from being a man, of men, who performed what we term miracles by magic craft, and therefore appeared to be the Son of God, I will now offer my proof, not trusting to the words of those who affirm these things, but necessarily believing those who foretold what should happen before it came to pass, for we see with our very eyes that events have happened, and are happening, as was foretold; and this will, I think, appear, even to you, the greatest and truest proof. Witness of Prophecy to Christ.

31. There were then certain persons among the Jews, who were prophets of God, by whom the Spirit of Prophecy foretold events that were about to happen, before they came to pass. And the prophecies of these persons, the kings of Judah for the time being acquired and took care of, as they were spoken, when uttered prophetically in their own Hebrew language, and arranged in books by the Prophets themselves. But when Ptolemy king of Egypt was forming his library, and endeavouring to collect the works of every author, he heard also about these prophetic writings, and sent to Herod, who was then king of the Jews[a], entreating that the books of the prophecies might be transmitted to him; on which, Herod the king sent them written in their Hebrew language mentioned before; but when their contents were not understood by the Egyptians, he sent a second time to request the presence of persons to translate them into Greek; when this was done, the books remained in the possession of the Egyptians even to the present time, and they are in the hands of all the Jews throughout the world; but although Writings of the Prophets translated.

[z] "As a god." ὡς θεὸν διὰ φόβου σέβειν ὥρμητο. Eusebius reads διὰ φόβον, which Valesius translates "per vim et metum:" the Benedictine prefers the first reading, since it was not Adrian himself, he says, who terrified men by the authority of his power, but the fear of him, as of some great god, which took possession of men's minds.

[a] Herod, who was then king of the Jews. To obviate the manifest anachronism of this assertion, Grabe proposed to read ἱερεῖ for Ἡρῴδῃ; and Philo relates, that the high priest, to whom Ptolemy sent, held the kingdom together with the high priesthood, lib. 2. de Vit. Moses. This appears to be the best emendation yet proposed of the passage. Usher suggests a second occasion, the restoration of the library by Cleopatra.

JUST. MART. these people read them, they do not understand what is said in them; but consider us as their enemies and opponents, killing and illtreating us, as you do, whenever they have the power, as you may well believe. For even in the late Jewish war, Barchochebas, the ringleader of the Jewish revolt, commanded that Christians alone should be dragged to cruel tortures, unless they would deny Jesus to be Christ, and blaspheme Him; and we find it foretold in the books of the Prophets, that Jesus our Christ should come born of a Virgin, and grow to manhood, and heal every disease, and every malady, and raise the dead, and be envied, and unrecognised, and crucified, and should die, and rise again, and go up to Heaven, and should both be, and be called, the Son of God; and that certain persons should be sent by Him into every nation of men to proclaim these facts, and that rather the men of Gentile race should believe in Him. And this was foretold before His coming; at first, five thousand[b] years; then, three thousand; then, two thousand; then, one thousand; and, lastly, eight hundred; for, according to the succession of generations, there existed a succession of different Prophets.

Prophecies of Moses. Gen. 49, 10. 1 So Aquila renders *Shiloh.*

32. Moses then, in truth, who was the first of the Prophets, spoke in these very words, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until He come, for whom*[1] *it is in store, binding his foal to the vine, and washing his robe in the blood of the grape.* It is your duty to enquire with accuracy, and learn, until whose time there was a ruler and king among the Jews peculiar to themselves. Until the appearance of Jesus Christ our Teacher, and the Expounder of those Prophecies which were unknown, as was foretold by the divine and holy spirit of Prophecy through Moses; *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, until He come, for whom the kingdom is in store;* for Judah was the forefather of the Jews, and it is from him that they derive the title of Jews, and you, since Christ's appearance, have ruled also over the Jews, and held possession of their whole country; but the words, *He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles,* signify, that men from all nations should look for His coming again, as you yourselves may see and be convinced by the facts: for from all nations men look for Him Who was

[b] To Adam, according to the Septuagint reckoning.

crucified in Judea, after whom the land of the Jews was at once delivered into your hands as a spoil of war; and the expression, *Binding his foal to the vine, and washing his robe in the blood of the grape,* was a symbol significative of the events that were to happen to Christ, and of the works that should be performed by Him. For the foal of an ass stood at the entrance of a village bound to a vine, and He commanded His disciples to bring it then to Him, and when it was brought, He mounted and sat upon it, and entered into Jerusalem, where was the chief Temple of the Jews, which was subsequently destroyed by you; and after this, He was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled, for the words, *washing His robe in the blood of the grape,* were prophetical of the passion which He was to undergo, cleansing by His blood those who believed on Him; for that which the Holy Spirit terms by the Prophet, His robe, are those who believe in Him, in Whom dwells that seed which is from God, namely The Word; and what is called the blood of the grape, signifies that He Who should appear would have blood, but not of human seed, but of Divine Power: for the first Power after God the Father and Lord of all things, even His Son, is The Word, Who took flesh, and was made man, in the manner which shall be described hereafter; for as man made not the blood of the grape, but God, so also this blood is declared to have been not of human seed, but of the Power of God, as aforesaid. And Isaiah, also another Prophet, declaring the same things in other words, speaks thus; *A Star shall rise out of Jacob, and a Branch shall grow out of the root of Jesse, and in His arm shall the nations trust.* A Star of light has arisen, and a flower has sprung up from the root of Jesse, this the Christ: for of a Virgin who was of the seed of Jacob the father of Judah, whom we have shewn to be the father of the Jews, through the power of God was He born, and Jesse was His forefather according to this prophecy, and He was the son of Jacob and Judah, according to the succession of generation.

Apol. I. 33.

Is. 11, 1. Numb. 24, 17.

33. And, again, hear how He was foretold in express terms by Isaiah as about to be born of a Virgin; it is spoken thus, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son;*

Prophecy of Isaiah.

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Luke 1, 30.

[c] Grabe would substitute Isaiah for Moses, an emendation which most of the editors have approved, and which would appear to agree with the context better than the present reading. The Benedictine, however, rejects it, because St. Justin in the Dialogue with Trypho cites Moses to prove that Christ is the First-begotten. §. 52. [and following.]

34. And hear in what part of the world He was to be born, as another prophet, Micah, declared, who spoke thus; *And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come forth a Governor, Who shall feed My people.* Now this is a certain village in the country of the Jews, thirty-five stadia distant from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born; as you may also learn from the lists of the taxing, which was made in the time of Cyrenius, the first governor of yours in Judea.

APOL. I. 34, 35. Prophecy of Micah. Micah 5, 2. Matt. 2, 6.

35. And that Christ, after His birth, should be unknown to other men[d], until He was grown to man's estate, which also came to pass, hear what was foretold of this; the words are as follows; *A Child is born to us, and a young Man is given to us, Whose government is upon His shoulders*, which is significant of the power of the Cross; to which, when crucified, He applied His shoulders, as shall be shewn more clearly in the course of my explanation. And again the same prophet Isaiah, who was inspired by the prophetical Spirit, says, *I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good; they ask me now for judgment, and presume to draw nigh to God.* And again in other words, by another prophet, He says, *They pierced My hands and My feet, and cast lots upon My garments.* Yet David, the king and prophet, who uttered these words, underwent none of these things; but Jesus Christ stretched out His hands, and was crucified by the Jews, who contradicted Him, and denied Him to be the Christ; for, indeed, as the Prophet said, they mocked Him, and set Him on the judgment-seat, and said, Judge us[e]. But the words, *They pierced My hands and My feet*, are a description of the nails that were fixed in His hands and His feet on the Cross; and after He was crucified, those who crucified Him cast lots for His garments,

The Crucifixion foretold. Is. 9, 6. Is. 65, 2. 58, 2. Ps. 22, 16. 18.

[d] The question here, says the Benedictine, is, not of the silence and obscure life of Christ to the time of His Baptism, but of the mind of the Jews towards Him, who knew not that He was their King and God. see §. 31. 49. Hence, he continues, the expression, "Until He was come to man's estate," does not exclude His period of manhood, but rather the contrary, and proves He was hated and unknown by the Jews from His birth, even to His full age, and extreme period of life. page 65. c.

[e] Judge us. This would appear to allude generally to Matt. xxvii. 26—30.

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and divided them among themselves; and that these things were so, you may learn from the Acts[1] which were recorded under Pontius Pilate; and that He was expressly foretold as about to enter into Jerusalem sitting on the foal of an ass, I will prove by the words of the prophecy of another prophet, Zephaniah, which are as follows: *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; proclaim it, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh to thee lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass*[f].

Modes of expression in prophecy.

36. But when you hear the words of the Prophets spoken as by some Person, you should not suppose them to be spoken by those who are inspired, but by that Divine Word who moves them; for at one time He declares as it were prophetically what is to come to pass; at another, He speaks as from the Person of God, the Lord and Father of all things; at another, as from the Person of Christ; at another, as from the person of the people answering the Lord or His Father; such as you may see even in your own writers, some one person being the writer of the whole, but introducing the persons who speak. This the Jews, who have the writings of the Prophets, not understanding, acknowledged not Christ even when He came; but even hate us who affirm that He has come, and who prove that as was foretold He was crucified by them.

Instances where the Father speaks. Is.1,3.

37. That this also may be clear to you, the following words were spoken from the Person of the Father through Isaiah the prophet before mentioned: *The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know Me, My people hath not understood. Woe, sinful nation, people full of sins, evil seed, lawless sons; ye have forsaken the Lord.* And again in another place, when the same Prophet speaks in like manner from the Father, *What is the house that ye will build unto Me? saith the Lord; Heaven is My throne, and earth is My footstool.* And again in another place, *Your new moons, and your sabbaths, My soul abhors; and the great day of the fast, and staying from labour, I endure not; nor if you come to be seen by Me, will I hear you; your hands are full of blood; and if you bring fine flour,*

Is. 66, 1.

Is. 1, 11—15.

[f] These are the words of Zechariah, and not Zephaniah; and we find them attributed to the former in §. 53. of the Dialogue with Trypho.

(*or*) *incense, it is an abomination to Me. The fat of lambs, and the blood of goats, I desire not; for who hath required these things at your hands? But loose every band of wickedness, tear in pieces the knots of contracts made by violence, shelter the houseless and naked, deal thy bread to the hungry:* of what nature then were the things that were taught through the Prophets from God, you may now perceive. APOL.' I. 38,39. Is. 58, 6.

38. When the Spirit of Prophecy speaks from the Person of Christ, He speaks in this manner; *I have spread out My hands to a rebellious and gainsaying people, which walketh in a way that is not good.* And again, *I have given My back to the scourges, and My cheeks to buffets, and I have not turned My face from the shame of the spittings; and the Lord was My helper, therefore I was not confounded, but I fixed My face like a hard rock, and I knew that I should not be put to shame, for He is near who justifieth Me.* And again when He says, *They cast lots upon My vesture, and pierced My hands and My feet. I laid Me down and slept, and I rose up again, for the Lord sustained Me:* and again, *They spoke with their lips, they wagged their heads, saying, Let Him deliver Himself:* all which things were done by the Jews to Christ, as you may learn: for when He was crucified, they distorted their lips, and moved their heads, saying, "He Who raised the dead, let Him save Himself." Where Christ speaks. Is. 65, 2. Is. 50, 6. Ps. 22, 16. 18. Ps. 3, 5. Ps. 21, 7.

39. But when, as prophesying what is about to come to pass, the Holy Ghost speaks, His words are as follows; *For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; and nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* And that it so came to pass you may believe; for from Jerusalem there went out into the world twelve men in number, and they obscure persons, and unskilled in speaking; but through the power of God they declared to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God; and we, who were formerly murderers of each other, not only make no war on our enemies, but, to avoid even lying or deceiving those who examine us, we willingly confess Christ and die, for it were possible that what is said, "My tongue has Where the Holy Ghost speaks. Is. 2, 3, 4.

Just. Mart. 1 Eurip. Hippol. 608 Cic. de Off. iii. sub fin.

sworn it, but my mind's unsworn[1]," we should do in this case; for it would be ridiculous that the soldiers who are mustered and enrolled by you should prefer even to their own life, their parents, their country, and all their kindred, their allegiance to you, who are unable to give them any incorruptible reward; but that we, who desire incorruptibility, should not endure all things, in order to receive the rewards we long for, from Him Who is able to give them.

Preaching of the Gospel foretold. Ps. 19, 2—5.

40. Hear also how it was foretold of those who preached His doctrine, and proclaimed His appearance; the beforementioned prophet and king speaking thus by the Spirit of Prophecy, *Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where their voices are not heard. Their voice has gone out through all the earth, their words to the ends of the world. In the sun hath He placed His tabernacle, and He as a bridegroom that goeth out of his chamber, shall rejoice as a giant to run his way.* Besides these, I think it right, and applicable, to mention some other prophecies which were uttered by the same David, from which you may learn how the Spirit of Prophecy urges men to live, and how He speaks of that conspiracy of Herod the king of the Jews and of the Jews themselves, and of Pilate your procurator in their country, with his soldiers, against Christ, and that men from every nation should believe in Him, and that God calls Him His Son, and has declared that He will put all enemies under Him; and how the devils, as far as they can, endeavour to escape the power of God the Father and Lord of all, and that of Christ Himself, and how God calls all men to repentance before

Ps. 1. 2. the day of judgment comes; He speaks thus; *Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful. But in the law of the Lord is his delight, and in His law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the streams of waters, that shall give his fruit in his season: his leaf shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but they are like the dust which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous; for the Lord knoweth the way*

Ps. 2, 1. *of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish. Why*

have the heathen raged, and the people imagined a vain thing? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ; saying, Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh at them, the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure; I was placed a King by Him on Sion His holy hill. I will declare the decree of the Lord. The Lord hath said unto Me, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for Thy possession: Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, all ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling; take hold on discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when His wrath is kindled on a sudden: blessed are all they that put their trust in Him. Apol. I. 41, 42.

41. And again, in another prophecy, the Spirit of Prophecy declaring through the same David that after His crucifixion Christ should reign, spoke as follows; *Sing to the Lord all the whole earth, and declare His salvation from day to day; for great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised. He is to be feared above all gods, for all the gods of the heathen are idols of devils; but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before His face, strength and glorying in the place of His sanctuary: give glory to the Lord, the Father everlasting, receive grace, and enter before His face, and worship in His holy courts: let all the earth fear before His face, and be established, and not be shaken; let them rejoice among the Gentiles. The Lord hath reigned from the tree*[g]. The Kingdom of Christ. Ps. 96.

42. But when the Spirit of Prophecy speaks of what is about to happen as having already come to pass, as may be seen even from the passages previously cited by me, in order that this may not afford any excuse[h] to my readers, I will Future expressed as past.

[g] In the Dialogue with Trypho, §. 73. he accuses the Jews of expunging these last words, which are not in our text.

[h] Excuse. Langus and Gelenius would read ἀπόριαν, and Grabe ἀντιλόγιαν, but the Benedictine thinks that there is no need of any alteration. St. Justin writing with a view to convince, and meaning that it was his duty to leave no excuse to his readers

JUST. MART. explain this also. The things that are assuredly known by Him as being about to take place, He foretells as having already been fulfilled; and that we ought thus to receive it, consider with earnest application of mind what is uttered. David spoke the before-mentioned passages about fifteen hundred years before Christ was Incarnate, and crucified[1]; and no one of those who were before His time, by being crucified, brought joy to the Gentiles; nor did any of those who were after Him: but our Jesus Christ, being crucified, and dying, rose again, and reigned, ascending into heaven; and from the tidings which were proclaimed by Him through the Apostles in all nations, is the joy of those who look for the incorruptibility which is promised by Him.

Foreknowledge is not fate.

43. But that no one from what I have said may think that we maintain events to take place by the compulsion of destiny, from the foretelling of that which is foreknown, I will reply to this also. That there will be punishments, and corrections, and good rewards allotted according to the nature of each man's actions, we have learnt through the Prophets, and we believe to be a truth. For if it were not so, but all things were done by destiny, we should have no free-will whatever; for, if it is fated that this man should be good, and that one evil, the one would not be acceptable, nor the other blameable. And again, if the human race have not the power by free choice to avoid the evil and to choose the good, they are not accountable for their actions of whatever kind they may be. But that they both do well, and do ill, by free choice, we thus demonstrate: We see the same man making a transition to opposite things; but if it were fated that he should be either good or bad, he would not then be capable of these contraries, and frequently vary; nor would some men be good, and others evil; for we must then assert that destiny is the cause of evil, and acts in opposition to herself; or what has been already stated would appear to be true, namely, that neither virtue nor vice is any thing; but it is by opinion alone that things are considered either good or bad; which, as true reason

for remaining in error. For similar expressions, he refers to §. 55. and 61. of this Apology, and §. 38. 44. 58. 82. of the Dialogue with Trypho.

[1] Grabe supposes this assertion to be a mistake of the copyist, and not of St. Justin; the former having written ϡφ′ 1,500 for ϡρ′ 1,100.

points out, is the greatest impiety and injustice: but the following we affirm to be inevitable destiny; that for those who choose the good, there are fitting rewards; and for such likewise as prefer the contrary, proper punishments; for God has not made man like other creatures, trees and quadrupeds, for example, able to do nothing by choice, or he would not be worthy of recompense or praise, not choosing the good of himself, but being created to this; nor, if he were evil, would he justly suffer punishment; not being what he was of himself, and having no power to be other than that which he was born. Apol. 1. 44.

44. The holy Spirit of prophecy has taught us this, Who related by Moses that to the first man who was created God spoke thus; *Behold, before thy face are good and evil, choose the good.* And again, by Isaiah another Prophet, that God the Father and Lord of all things spoke as follows to the same effect; *Wash you, make you clean, put away your evils from your souls, learn to do well, judge for the fatherless and justify the widow, and come and let us reason, saith the Lord: and though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool; and if they be red like crimson, I will make them white as snow; and if ye be willing and obedient to Me, ye shall eat the good things of the land; but if ye hearken not to Me, the sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.* But what is said, *the sword shall devour you,* does not mean that the disobedient should be slain by swords; but the sword of God is the fire, of which they who choose to do evil, are made the fuel; hence He says, *The sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.* But if He spoke of a sword which cuts off and dispatches at once, He would not say, *shall devour you.* So also Plato, in his words, "The blame is his who chooses, but God is without blame[1]," took his saying from Moses the prophet. For Moses was before all the writers of Greece, and in all that both philosophers and poets have said about the immortality of the soul, or the punishments after death, or the contemplation of celestial subjects, and the like doctrines, they have taken their suggestions from the Prophets, so as to be able to understand and explain those matters. Hence with all there

Free will. Deut. 30, 15. 19. Is. 1, 16. &c.

[1] Rep. x.

JUST. MART. appear to be seeds of truth, but they are proved to have understood them inaccurately, when they speak in contradiction of themselves; so that when we say that future events have been foretold, we do not assert that they came to pass by any compulsion of destiny, but that God, foreknowing what all men would do, and determining with Himself that every man should be rewarded according to the worth of his actions, foretells by the Spirit of prophecy, that men should receive even from Him recompense in proportion to the worth of their works; always urging the human race to renewed exertion and recollection, and shewing that He has a care of it, and takes thought for it. But through the agency of evil demons, death was proclaimed against those who read the books[1] of Hystaspes[2], or the Sibyl, or the Prophets, that they might through fear turn their readers from receiving the knowledge of good, and keep them slaves to themselves; which in the event they were not able to accomplish. For we not only read them without fear, but also, as you see, offer them to you for inspection; knowing that they will appear well-pleasing to all, and if we convince even a few, we shall gain the greatest rewards, for, like good husbandmen, we shall receive the recompense from the Lord.

[1] Pref. Ben. part 3. cap. 6.
[2] Brucker Hist. Phil. b. ii. c. iii. §. 6.

Prophecies of the Ascension.

45. That God the Father of all things would bring Christ to heaven, after He rose from the dead, and keep Him there until He smote the demons His enemies, and the number of those who are foreknown by Him as being good and full of virtue should be accomplished, for whom He delays the consummation[k], hear the words of the prophet David; they are as follows; *The Lord saith unto My Lord, sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The Lord shall send Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem, and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies. With Thee is the government in the day of Thy power, and in the glories of Thy saints. From the womb*

Ps. 110, 1. &c.

[k] Consummation, ἐπικύρωσιν. It has been proposed to read ἐκπύρωσιν, as St. Justin elsewhere uses this word in connection with the end of the world; but as ἐπικύρωσιν may also be truly taken to describe that event, and might even be a more suitable term for heathen readers, it would seem questionable, as Otto says, whether we should be justified in altering the text without Ms. authority.

have I begotten Thee before the morning star. The words then, *He will send Thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem,* are presignificant of that powerful doctrine which His Apostles went out from Jerusalem and preached every where; and although death is decreed against those who teach, or in any way confess, the name of Christ; we every where both embrace and teach it. And if you also should read these words as enemies, you can do no more, as I have already said, than put us to death, which to us indeed involves no loss; but to you, and to all who persecute us unjustly, and do not repent, brings eternal punishment by fire. APOL. I. 46.

46. But lest any should unreasonably urge, to turn men away[1] from our doctrines, that we assert Christ to have been born one hundred and fifty years ago, under Cyrenius, and to have taught what we affirm that He did teach subsequently, in the time of Pontius Pilate; and should urge it against us as if all men who were born before Him were irresponsible, I will, by anticipation, answer this difficulty. We are taught that Christ is the First-born of God, and we have shewn above that He is the Word of Whom the whole human race are partakers, and those who lived according to reason are Christians, even though accounted Atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates, and Heraclitus, and those who resembled them: of the Barbarians, Abraham, and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many others; whose actions, or names, would I know be tedious to relate; and for the present I refrain from so doing. So also they who have been before Him, and lived without reason, were worthless[1], and enemies to Christ, and murderers of those who governed their lives by reason; but they who lived, and now live, in accordance with it, are Christians, and are fearless, and tranquil. But for what reason, through the power of the Word, according to the will of God, the Father and Lord of all things, He was born as man of a virgin, and was called Jesus, and was crucified, and died, and rose again, and went up into Sinners before Christ, guilty.

[1] ἄχρηστοι.

[1] ἀπατρόπην. "Thirlby," says the Benedictine, "would read ἀνατρόπην, but wrongly, as St. Justin is in controversy with those who would distort and calumniate, rather than overthrow, his doctrines." p. 71. note a.

JUST. MART. heaven; from all that I have said already at such length, a man of understanding will be able to comprehend, but as the discussion of the proof is not necessary now, I will pass on, for the present, to those proofs which are pressing.

Fall of the Jews foretold. 47. That the land of the Jews, then, was to be laid waste, hear what was said by the Spirit of prophecy: His words were uttered as in the person of the people wondering at what had been done; they are as follows; *Zion is become a wilderness, Jerusalem is become as a desolation, the house of our sanctuary is become a curse, and the glory which our fathers blessed is burned with fire, and all its glorious things are fallen, and Thou refrainest Thyself at these things, and dost hold Thy peace, and afflict us very sore.* And that Jerusalem was laid waste, as it was foretold should come to pass, you know. Of this desolation, and of none of its people being permitted to inhabit it, the Prophet Isaiah spoke thus; *Their country is desolate, their enemies devour it in their presence, and there shall not be one of them to dwell in it;* and that it is guarded by you to prevent any one from dwelling in it, and that death is decreed against a Jew who is detected in entering it, you know well.

Is. 64, 10—12.

Is. 1, 7.

Prophecies of Christ. 48. And that it was foretold that our Christ should heal all diseases, and raise the dead, hear what was said; it is as follows; *At His coming the lame shall leap like a stag, and the tongue of the dumb shall be eloquent, the blind shall recover sight, and the lepers shall be cleansed, and the dead shall rise and walk about.* That He performed these things you may easily be satisfied, from the Acts[m] of Pontius Pilate; and how it was foretold by the Spirit of prophecy that both He, and those who trusted in Him, should lose their lives, hear what was said by Isaiah: *Behold how the Righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and just men are taken away, and none considereth. The Righteous is taken away from the presence of evil, and His grave shall be in peace, He is taken from the midst of us.*

Is. 35, 5. 6.

Is. 57, 1. 2.

Calling of the Gentiles foretold. 49. And again, how it was said by the same Isaiah, that the people of the Gentiles who did not look for Him should worship Him, but that the Jews who were always looking for

[m] *γενομένων αὐτῷ.* Ben. after Casaubon, would read *ἄκτων*, which is made probable by the use of the term in Is. 35

Him should not acknowledge Him when He came: His words were spoken as in the Person of Christ Himself, and are these; *I was manifest to them that asked not for me, I was found of them that sought me not; I said, Behold, I come, unto a nation that called not on My name: I have spread out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people, to them that walk in no good way, but after their own sins; a people that provoketh me to anger to my face.* For the Jews who had the prophecies, and always looked for Christ to come, knew Him not; and not only so, but even ill-treated Him; whilst the Gentiles, who never heard any thing about Christ until the Apostles went out from Jerusalem, and preached the things concerning Him, and gave them the prophecies, were filled with joy and faith, and put away their idols, and dedicated themselves to The Unbegotten God, through Christ. But that these infamous things which were to be spoken against those who confess Christ were foreknown, and that they who slandered Him, and who said that it was well to keep the ancient customs, were to be miserable, hear what is briefly said by Isaiah; *Woe unto those who call sweet bitter and bitter sweet.*

Apol. I. 50.

Isa. 65, 1. 2. 3.

Is. 5, 20.

50. But that when He had become man for our sakes, He endured to suffer, and be dishonoured; and that He shall come again with glory, hear the prophecies which were uttered on this subject: they are as follows; *Because they delivered His soul unto death, and He was numbered with the transgressors; He bare the sins of many, and shall make atonement for the transgressors. Behold, my Servant shall understand, and He shall be exalted and greatly glorified. As many shall be astonished at Thee, so Thy visage shall be considered inglorious by men, and Thy glory by men; so shall many nations admire, and the kings shall shut their mouths; for they to whom it was not told concerning Him, and they who have not heard, shall understand. Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared before Him as an infant, as a root in a thirsty ground; He hath no form nor glory, and we saw Him, and He had no form nor beauty, but His form is without honour, and mean beyond that of men, a Man that is under the stroke, and knowing how to bear infirmity, because*

Christ's Resurrection foretold.

Is. 53, 12.

Is. 52, 13—15.

Is. 53, 1—8.

JUST. MART. *His face was turned away; He was despised, and nothing esteemed. He it is that bears our sins, and endures pains for us, and we did esteem Him to be in pain, and in stripes, and in afflictions: but He was wounded for our transgressions, and He was punished for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, with His stripes are we healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray, man has wandered in his own way, and the Lord hath delivered Him up for our iniquities. He, because of His afflictions, does not open His mouth; He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearers is dumb, so He opens not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away.* After His crucifixion then, even they that were acquainted with Him all denied and forsook Him; but afterwards, when He rose from the dead, and was seen by them, and taught them to read the prophecies in which all these things were foretold as about to happen, and when they had seen Him go up into Heaven, and had believed, and received power from thence, which was sent them from Him, they went forth to the whole race of men, and taught these things, and received the name of Apostles.

His ineffable generation.

51. And farther, to bear witness to us that He Who suffered these things had a generation that could not be declared, and is King over His enemies. The Spirit of prophecy spoke thus; *Who shall declare His generation? For His life is taken away from the earth, for their transgression was He brought to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death, because He hath done no iniquity, neither was any deceit found in His mouth, and the Lord is pleased to cleanse Him of the stripe. If He shall be made an offering for sin, your soul shall see His seed prolonged, and the Lord will take away the travail of His soul, will shew Him light, and form Him with knowledge, that the Righteous, well-serving, may justify many. And He shall bear our iniquities. Therefore He shall inherit many, and He shall divide the spoils of the strong, because His soul was delivered unto death, and He was numbered with the transgressors, and He hath borne the sins of many, and was delivered up because of their transgressions.* And hear how He was to go up into Heaven, as was prophesied:

Is. 53. 8. to end.

it was spoken thus; *Lift up the gates of Heaven, and be ye opened, that the King of glory may enter in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong, and the Lord mighty.* And how He was to come again from Heaven in glory, hear what was said to this purport by the Prophet Jeremiah: his words are as follows; *Behold one like the Son of Man cometh upon the clouds of Heaven, and His Angels with Him*[n]. Apol. I. 52. Ps. 24, 7. 8. Dan. 7, 13.

52. Since, then, we prove that all those things which have already come to pass were foretold by the prophets, before they took place, we must also necessarily have faith in those which were in like manner foretold, but are yet to be fulfilled, as assuredly about to happen; for as those which are already accomplished have happened, when foretold and unknown, in the same manner also the others, even if they are unknown and disbelieved, shall take place; for the prophets foretold two advents of Christ, one which has already been, as of a Man dishonoured and suffering; and the second, when, it has been declared, He shall come with glory from Heaven, attended by His host of Angels; when He shall also raise up the bodies of all men that have been, and shall clothe those of the worthy with incorruptibility; but shall send those of the wicked, with the evil spirits, into the endless suffering[p] of eternal fire. That these things have been foretold as about to come to pass, I will prove: Ezekiel the prophet spoke thus; *Joint shall be gathered to joint, and bone to bone, and flesh shall spring up again;* and, *Every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess Him.* And for the kind of suffering, and torment, in which the wicked shall be, hear what is in like manner foretold on that subject; it is as follows: *Their worm shall not be made to rest, nor their flame be quenched, and then shall they repent, when it avails them nothing.* But what the people of the Jews will say, and do, when they see Him coming in glory, has been thus foretold by the prophet Zachariah: *I will command the four winds to collect together the children that are scattered; I will command the north to* Future Prophecy confirmed by past. Ezek. 37, 7. Is. 45, 23. Is 66, 24. Zech. 2, 6.

[n] Ed. Ben. and others have observed, that this passage is not to be found in Jeremiah.

[p] αἰσθήσει. Ed. Ben. refers to §. 20. as well as a few lines below in this passage, and to Judith xvi. 17.

Just. Mart. Zech. 12, 11. Joel 2, 13. *bear them, and the south not to strike. And then in Jerusalem shall be great lamentation, not a lamentation of the mouth and lips, but a lamentation of the heart; and they shall not rend their garments, but their thoughts; and they shall mourn tribe by tribe, and then shall they look on Him Whom they pierced, and shall say, Why, Lord, hast Thou made us to err from Thy way? The glory which our fathers blessed is become to us a shame.*

Is. 63, 17. Is. 64, 11.

Prophecies visibly fulfilled.

53. I have many other prophecies also to produce, but I forbear, as thinking even these sufficient for conviction to such as have ears that will hear, and understand. And these I suppose will be able also to understand, that, unlike the things that are fabled of the supposed sons of Jupiter, we do not merely assert, while we are unable to offer any proof of what we say; for with what reason should we believe of a crucified Man, that He is the First-born of the Unbegotten God, and that He will hold judgment on the whole race of man, except we found testimonies proclaimed of Him before He came, and was made Man; and saw that things had happened accordingly; witnessing, namely, the devastation of the land of the Jews, and perceiving some, ourselves that is, who from every nation of men through the teaching of His Apostles, believed, and laid aside their former customs in which they lived erroneously; and knowing that the Christians who were from the Gentiles should be both more in number, and truer, than those who were from the Jews and the Samaritans; for all other nations are called Gentiles by the Spirit of Prophecy, but the Jewish and Samaritan race are termed Israel and the house of Jacob. And I will produce the prophecy in which it is foretold, that they who believed of the Gentiles, should be more than those of the Jews and Samaritans: it is as follows;

Is. 54, 1. *Rejoice, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail; for many more are the children of the desolate, than the children of her who hath the husband.* For all the nations were desolate, away from the true God, serving the works of their own hands; but the Jews, and Samaritans, who had The Word, that is from God, given to them through the Prophets, and always looked for Christ, knew Him not when He came, except a few, who

the Holy Spirit of Prophecy foretold, by the Prophet Isaiah, should be saved: but He spoke as in their person: *Except the Lord had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah.* Now Sodom and Gomorrah are related by Moses to have been certain cities of ungodly men, which God burnt, and destroyed by fire and brimstone; and none of their inhabitants was saved, except a stranger, a Chaldean by birth, whose name was Lot, and with him also his daughters; and those who wish, may see their whole country lying waste and consumed, and continuing unfruitful. And that they who are of the Gentiles were foreknown as both to be more true, and more faithful, I will recite what was spoken by Isaiah the Prophet; it is as follows: *Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the Gentiles in the flesh.* So many things then which are seen may with reason cause conviction and belief to those who embrace the truth, and do not seek for vainglory, and are not governed by their passions.

Apol. I. 54.

Is. 1, 9.

Jer. 9, 26.

54. But they who handed down the fables which were framed by the Poets, offer no proof to the youth who learn them; and that they were uttered for the deception and seduction of the human race, by the agency of evil demons, I will prove: for having heard, through the Prophets, that Christ was proclaimed as about to come, and punish the ungodly among men by fire; they caused many beforehand to be spoken of, who were called the sons of Jupiter, thinking that they were able to cause men to consider the tidings of Christ as a marvellous story, and like those which were told by the Poets. And these were uttered, both among the Greeks, and in all nations, where they especially heard the Prophets foretell that men should believe on Christ: and I will prove, that when they heard what was spoken by the Prophets, they did not understand the same correctly, but imitated what they said of our Christ like men who are in error. The Prophet Moses, then, was, as I have said, older than all writers, and by him, as I have already related, the following prophecy was uttered: *A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a governor from his thighs, until He comes for whom it is in store, and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles, binding His colt to the vine, washing His robe in*

Imitations of Prophecy.

Gen. 49, 10.

JUST. MART. *the blood of the grape.* The devils, then, hearing these prophetical words, said, that Bacchus had been born the son of Jupiter, and declared that he was the discoverer of the vine; and they use wine[q] in his mysteries; and teach that he was torn asunder, and went up into Heaven. And as it was not signified in terms, by that prophecy of Moses, whether He who was to come, was the Son of God; and, if riding on the foal, He would remain on earth, or ascend into Heaven; and the word colt might mean the foal, both of an ass, and of a horse; they, not knowing whether He who was foretold, would introduce the foal of an ass, or of a horse, to be a token of His coming; and whether He is the Son of God, as I have already said, or of man; declared, that Bellerophon himself, who was a man and son of man, upon his horse Pegasus, had gone up into Heaven. And when they heard it said by the other Prophet Isaiah, that He should be born of a Virgin, and should, by Himself, ascend into Heaven; they put forward the mention of Perseus: and when they knew that it was declared, as has been said before, in the prophecies that were written previously, *He is strong as a giant to run His course*, they declared that Hercules was strong, and travelled over the whole world: and when they learnt again that He was foretold as about to heal every disease, and to raise the dead, they brought forward Æsculapius.

Ps. 19, 5.

The Cross escaped imitation.

55. But in no case, and upon none of those who are called the sons of Jupiter, did they imitate the being crucified; for it did not occur to them: every thing which was spoken in relation to this, having been uttered symbolically, as I have already said. This, as the Prophet foretold, is the greatest mark of His strength and power; as is also shewn by the things which fall under our observation: for consider all the things in the world, whether without this form there is any administration, or any community, possible to be maintained. The sea cannot be ploughed except that trophy[1] which is called a sail abide safe in the ship.

[1] τρόπαιον

[q] Wine, οἶνον. Such is the reading of the Mss. but the Paris editions read ὄνον, "an ass." The Benedictine prefers the former; Morell and Otto receive, and Grabe, Thirlby, Gallandi, and Braunius, incline to, the latter. See Benedictine and Otto in loc. and compare Dialogue with Trypho, §. 69.

The earth is not tilled without it; diggers, handicraftsmen also, do not perform their task unless by tools bearing this shape; and the figure of man differs from that of the unreasoning brutes only in this, that he is upright, and has power to stretch out his hands; and has in his face extended from his forehead what is called his nose, through which the animal draws his breath, and which displays nothing else than the figure of the cross; and it is thus spoken by the Prophet, *The breath before our face is Christ the Lord.* And your symbols in what are called banners[r], and trophies, with which your processions are universally made, display the power of this form; and by these you shew the signs of your rule and authority, even if you do so without knowing what you do. And you consecrate the images of your Emperors, on their demise, by this form; and by inscriptions you term them gods. And when we have urged you as far as our power admits by reason, and this conspicuous figure, we know that henceforth we are blameless, even if you believe not; for our part is now done and perfected.

Apol. I. 56.

Lam. 4, 20.

56. But the evil demons were not contented before the manifestation of Christ with mentioning those who were said to have been born the sons of Jupiter, but, when He appeared, and lived among men, and when they learnt that He was foretold by the Prophets, and knew that He was believed in, and looked for, by every nation, they again (as I have already said[l]) introduced others, Simon, and Menander, from Samaria; who, by the performance of magic wonders, deceived, and still deceive, many. And, as I have already said, Simon was with you in royal Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar; and so greatly astonished the sacred Senate, and people of Rome, as to be accounted a god, and to be honoured with a statue like others whom you respect as gods. Hence, I entreat, that the sacred Senate, and your people, may be made cognizant, with yourselves, of this defence of mine: that, if any one be entangled with his

Heretics put forward by devils.

[l] §. 16.

[r] "Banners." The text merely contains the word λλωμεν, which however is corrected in the Claromontane copy βιξιλλωμεν; and the word is, as the Benedictine concludes, βιξιλλων, being in fact the Latin vexillorum, written in Greek letters. Tertullian, and Minucius Felix, use the same word; the former in his Apology, chap. 16. and the latter p. 286. Benedictine note in loc.

JUST. MART. doctrines, he may learn the truth, and be able to escape the deception: and do you, if you please, destroy his statue.

Their end was to discredit Christianity.

57. Nor are the devils able to persuade men that there would be no conflagration for the punishment of the wicked, as they were also unable to bring it about that Christ, when He came, should be unknown. This only were they able to accomplish, that those who lived unreasonably, and were brought up in evil customs to follow their passions, and who sought for vain glory, should kill and hate us; whom we not only hate not, but, as has been said already, we pity them, and wish to persuade them to repent. For we do not fear death, since it is confessed that we must assuredly die; and there is nothing new, but the same things certainly continue in the same course; of which, if in truth satiety[s] overtake those who taste them but for a year, they should embrace our doctrines, that they may ever be free from suffering and want. But, if they believe that there is nothing after death, but declare that those who die pass into insensibility; they do us service by delivering us from the sufferings and necessities of this life; though they prove themselves to be wicked, and haters of their kind, and seekers after vain glory: for they do not put us to death that they may give us freedom, but they slay us that they may deprive us of life and enjoyment.

Marcion

58. Marcion also, who was, as I have said, from Pontus, was put forward by the evil demons; and he even now teaches men to deny God the Creator of all things in heaven and earth, and Him Who was foretold by the Prophets to be Christ, His Son; and maintains another God besides the Creator of all things; and another Son likewise. And many believe this man as the only one who knows the truth, and deride us; while they have no proof of what they assert, but are carried away irrationally, and like lambs by a wolf; and become a prey of godless doctrines, and of devils. For they who are termed devils, endeavour only to lead men away from God the Creator, and Christ His first-born; and those who cannot lift themselves from the earth, they fixed, and still fix down to things earthly, and to the work of their

[s] Satiety. The text reads εἰ μὴ κόρος, but, as the Benedictine and Thirlby observe, it should evidently be read εἰ μὲν.

own hands: but such as rise to the contemplation of celestial subjects, they thwart; and if they have not sober thoughtfulness, and do not lead a life pure, and free from passion, plunge them into ungodliness. APOL. 1. 59.

59. And that you may learn that Plato borrowed from our teachers, (I mean the account which is given by the Prophets,) when he said that God altered shapeless matter, and created the world; hear how the same things are expressly taught by Moses, who has been mentioned before as the first Prophet, and older than the Greek writers; by whom the Spirit of Prophecy, declaring how, and from what, God in the beginning created the world, spoke thus: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible, and unfurnished, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said, Let there be light, and it was so.* So that both Plato, and those who agree with him, and we ourselves, have learnt, and you may be persuaded, that by the Word of God, the whole world was created from subject matter which was described before by Moses. That too which your poets call Erebus, we know to have been previously mentioned by Moses. Plato's Cosmogony from Moses. Gen. 1, 1—3. Deut. 32, 22.

60. So that which is spoken physiologically by Plato in his Timæus about the Son of God, when he says, He placed Him in the universe after the manner of the letter χ[t], he likewise borrowed from Moses; for it is related in the Mosaic writings, that at the time when the Israelites went out of Egypt, and were in the desert, venomous beasts, vipers, and asps, and every kind of serpents, assailed them, and destroyed the people: on which Moses, from the inspiration and direction communicated from God, took brass, and formed it into the shape of a cross[u], and placed it on the holy tabernacle, and said to the people, "If you look upon that figure, and believe, you shall be saved;" and when this was done, he related that the serpents died; and re- Plato's doctrine of the Son. See Numb. 21, 8.

[t] ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί. Said by Plato of the soul of the Universe, (which he calls the Son of the Creator,) with reference to the inclination of the Ecliptic and the Equator, which cross one another at the Equinoxes like that letter. See his Timæus.

[u] Ed. Ben. observes, that the word in the LXX is σημεῖον, which St. Justin would understand of the figure of the Cross.

Just. Mart. corded, that by this means, the people escaped death. Plato then read this; and not accurately knowing or perceiving that it was a figure of the cross, but seeing only the form of the Letter χ, he said, that the power next to the first God, was in the Universe in the shape of a χ; and his mention of a third, is derived, as I have already said, from his reading the words of Moses, *The Spirit of God moved above the waters:* for he gives the second place to the Word of God; Who, he says, is placed after the manner of a χ in the Universe; and the third, to the Spirit, Who is said to move above the water; saying, "The Third about the Third[x]." And hear how the prophetic Spirit declared by Moses, that there should be a conflagration; he spoke as follows; *An everlasting fire shall descend, and burn to the pit below.* It is not then that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all men imitate and repeat ours; for you may hear and learn these things among us, from those who do not even know the shape of their letters, but who are ignorant and rude in speech, though wise and faithful in mind; some too are blind, or deprived of their eyes; thus you may perceive, that these things have not been by human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God.

Deut. 32, 22.

Christian Baptism

61. How we dedicated ourselves to God, being new made through Christ, I will explain, lest, if I omit this, I appear to be cheating in my explanation. All then who are persuaded, and believe, that the things which are taught and affirmed by us are true; and who promise to be able to live accordingly; are taught to pray, and beg God with fasting, to grant them forgiveness of their former sins; and we pray and fast with them. Then we bring them where there is water; and after the same manner of regeneration as we also were regenerated ourselves, they are regenerated; for, in the Name of God, the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, they then receive the washing of water: for,

S. Cyril, Lect. 1.

S. Cyril, Lect. 20.

[x] The Third, τὰ δὲ τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον. In the second Epistle of Plato it is read, τὸν τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα, and also by St. Clement of Alexandria and others; but as Proclus, lib. 2. Theologiæ Platonicæ, reads it as above, the Benedictine does not think it necessary to alter the text of St. Justin; as Proclus' version proves that there must have been copies which contained the same reading.

indeed, Christ also said, *Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* And that it is impossible for those who are once born to enter into their mothers' wombs, is plain to all. And it is declared by the Prophet Isaiah, as I have already written, in what way those who have sinned, and who repent, shall escape their sins. It is said as follows; *Wash ye, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from your souls; learn to do well, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow. And come and let us reason together, saith the Lord; and though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white like wool; though they be red like crimson, I will make them white like snow. But if ye will not hear me, a sword shall devour you; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*

Apol. J. 61. John 3, 3.

Is. 1, 16—20.

And we have received the following reason from the Apostles for so doing; since we were ignorant of our first birth, and were born by necessity of the moist seed through the mutual union of our parents, and were brought up in evil customs and wicked training; in order that we might not remain the children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice, and of knowledge; and that we might obtain remission of the sins we had formerly committed; in the water[y], there is called over him who chooses the new birth, and repents of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of all things; and calling Him by this name alone, we bring the person to be washed to the laver[z]: for no one can declare the name of the ineffable God, but if any one presumes to say that He has any, he commits an act of incurable madness. Now this washing is called illumination[1], because they who learn the meaning of these things are enlightened in their mind. And in the name of Jesus Christ, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; and in the name of the Holy Ghost, Who foretold, by the Prophets, all these things about Jesus; does he who is enlightened receive his washing.

[1] φωτισμός.

[y] 'In the water,' may perhaps be taken, as in Ed. Ben. with the previous words.

[z] *αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιλέγοντες, τοῦτον λουσόμενον ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρόν.* Ben. doubtfully rejects the obvious emendation of Thirlby, but does not notice the principal argument for it, namely, that *τοῦτον* makes no sense whatever; '*ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν λουσόμενον ἄγοντος.*' 'The person who leads him who is to be washed to the laver saying this and no more.'

JUST. MART. Satanic imitations of Baptism.

62. And the devils, hearing of this baptism which was taught by the Prophet, instigated those who enter into their temples, and who are about to come before them; paying drink offerings, and burnt offerings, also to sprinkle themselves: and they cause men to go and wash their whole persons before they come to the temples where they are enshrined; and the command given by the priests, to those who enter the temples and worship in them, to put off their shoes, the devils have learnt, and imitated, from what happened to Moses, the Prophet whom I have mentioned. For, at the time when Moses was commanded to go down into Egypt, and bring out the people of Israel who were there, as he was feeding the sheep of his uncle on the mother's side[a] in the land of Arabia, our Christ held converse with him in the shape of fire from a bush, and said, *Put off thy shoes, and draw near and hear:* and when he put off his shoes, and drew near, he heard that he was to go down into Egypt, and bring out the people of Israel who were there; and he received a mighty power from Christ, Who spoke to him in the shape of fire: and he went down, and led out the people, having wrought great and wonderful things; which, if you wish to know, you may learn them accurately from his writings.

Exod.3, 5.

The Son, not the Father, spake to Moses.

63. But all the Jews teach even now, that the unnamed God spoke with Moses. Whence the Spirit of prophecy, when blaming them by Isaiah, the before-mentioned Prophet, spoke as I have already related. *The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know Me, My people hath not understood Me.* And Jesus the Christ, because the Jews knew not what the Father was and what the Son, upbraids them in like manner, and says, *No man knoweth the Father, but the Son: nor the Son, but the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal Him.* But the Word of God is His Son, as I have already said; and He is called *Angel* and *Apostle*, for He declares all that ought to be known, and is sent to proclaim what is told, as indeed our

Is. 1, 3.

Mat.11, 27.

See §.46.

Mal.3,1. Heb. 3, 1.

[a] Mother's brother. "This," says the Benedictine, "is a strange mistake of St. Justin," and he thinks, that the holy Martyr, by a slip of the memory, wrote mother's brother, for father-in-law. Thirlby supposes him to have confused the accounts of Moses and Jacob.

Lord Himself said, *He that heareth Me, heareth Him that sent Me.* And this will be clear from the writings of Moses, in which it is said as follows: *And the Angel of God spake unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and said,* I AM THAT I AM, *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers; go down into Egypt, and bring up My people.* And what followed, you who wish may learn from them; for it is not possible to write all the events in this book, but thus much has been said to prove that Jesus, the Christ, is the Son and Apostle of God, being formerly the Word; and at one time appearing in the form of fire, and at another in the image of incorporeal beings[z]; but now, by the will of God, being made man for the human race, He endured also to suffer all that the devils caused to be inflicted on Him by the senseless Jews; who, having it expressly said in the Mosaic writings, *And the Angel of God spake with Moses in a flame of fire in the bush, and said,* I AM THAT I AM, *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob;* affirm that it was the Father, and Maker of all things, Who spoke thus. Hence also the Spirit of prophecy upbraids them as follows: *Israel hath not known Me, My people hath not understood Me.* And again, Jesus, as we have shewn, when with them, said, *No one knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal Him.* The Jews then always thinking that the Father of all things spoke to Moses; He Who spoke to him being the Son of God, Who is called both Angel and Apostle; are rightly upbraided both by the Spirit of Prophecy, and by Christ Himself, as knowing neither the Father, nor the Son: for they who say that the Son is the Father, are proved neither to know the Father, nor that the Father of all things has a Son, Who, being moreover the First-born Word of God, is also God, and Who formerly, through the shape of fire, and through an incorporeal image, appeared to Moses, and the other Prophets; but now, in the time of your government, as I said before, was made man of a Virgin, according to the counsel of the Father, for the

APOL. I. 63. Mat. 10, 40. Exod. 3, 2. 14. 15.

Exod. 3, 2. 14. 15.

Is. 1, 3.

Mat. 11, 27.

[z] Perhaps, as Ben. prefers, 'an incorporeal image;' for so it is easier to understand it a few lines below.

JUST. MART. salvation of those who believed on Him, and endured to be set at nought, and to suffer; that by dying, and rising again, He might overcome death: but that which was spoken from the bush to Moses, I AM THAT I AM, *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, and the God of thy fathers;* is significant that they, though dead, remain in existence; and are the men of this very Christ; for these are the first of all men who were employed in the search after God. Abraham was the father of Isaac, and Isaac of Jacob, as Moses also wrote.

Fables of Proserpine and Minerva.

64. And, that the devils incited them to place the image of her who is called Proserpine[1], at the fountains of waters; saying, that she was the daughter of Jupiter, in imitation of what was spoken by Moses; you may perceive from what has been already said[2]: for Moses declared, as I have previously written, *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth; and the earth was without form and void, and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters.* In imitation then of the Spirit of God, which was said to be borne upon the water, they declared that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter. Minerva, too, in like manner, they craftily affirmed to be the daughter of Jupiter; not from sexual union, but when they knew that God, by His Word[3], conceived and made the world, they described Minerva as the first conception[4]; which we consider to be most ridiculous, to adduce the female form as the image of the conception: and in like manner their actions convict the others who are called the sons of Jupiter.

[1] Κόρης

[2] § 9.

Gen. 1, 1—3.

[3] or 'Reason'

[4] ἔννοια

The Holy Eucharist. S. Cyril Lect. xxiii.

65. But after thus washing him who has professed, and given his assent, we bring him to those who are called brethren; where they are assembled together, to offer prayers in common both for ourselves, and for the person who has received illumination, and all others every where, with all our hearts, that we might be vouchsafed, now we have learnt the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, that we may obtain everlasting salvation. We salute one another with a kiss when we have concluded the prayers: then is brought to the President[5] of the brethren, bread, and a cup of water and wine[6], which he receives; and offers up praise and

Acts 23, 1. Phil. 1, 27.

[5] προεστῶτι

[6] κράματος

glory to the Father of all things, through the Name of His Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and he returns thanks at length, for our being vouchsafed these things by Him. When he has concluded the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent by saying Amen. This word, Amen, means in the Greek language, So be it; and when the President has celebrated the Eucharist, and all the people have assented, they whom we call deacons give to each of those who are present a portion of the Eucharistic bread, and wine, and water; and carry them to those who are absent. Apol. 1.66,67.

66. And this food is called by us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but he who believes the truth of our doctrines; and who has been washed in the laver for the forgiveness of sins, and to regeneration; and who so lives, as Christ has directed. For we do not receive them as ordinary food, or ordinary drink, but as by the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation; so also, the food which was blessed by the prayer of the Word which proceeded from Him, and from which our flesh and blood, by assimilation, receive nourishment, is, we are taught, both the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the records which they made, and which are called Gospels, have declared, that Jesus commanded them to do as follows: *He took bread, and gave thanks, and said, This do in remembrance of Me, This is My body. And in like manner He took the cup, and blessed it, and said, This is My blood:* and gave it to them alone. The same thing in the mysteries of Mithra also, the evil demons imitated, and commanded to be done; for bread, and a cup of water, are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated, with the addition of certain words, as you know or may learn. What the Eucharist is. Mat.26, 26. 27. Mark 14, 22. Luke22, 19. &c.

67. But we, after these things, henceforward always remind one another of them; and those of us who have the means, assist all who are in want; and we are always together; and in all our oblations we bless the Maker of all things, through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called Sunday, there is an assembly in the same place of all who live in cities, or in country districts; Proceedings of Christian assemblies.

JUST. MART. and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of the Prophets, are read as long as we have time. Then the reader concludes: and the President verbally instructs, and exhorts us, to the imitation of these excellent things: then, we all together rise and offer up our prayers; and, as I said before, when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought, and wine, and water; and the President, in like manner, offers up[1] prayers, and thanksgivings, with all his strength; and the people give their assent by saying Amen: and there is a distribution, and a partaking by every one, of the Eucharistic elements; and to those who are not present, they are sent by the hands of the deacons; and such as are in prosperous circumstances, and wish to do so, give what they will, each according to his choice; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the President, who assists the orphans, and widows, and such as through sickness, or any other cause, are in want; and to those who are in bonds, and to strangers from afar, and, in a word, to all who are in need, he is a protector. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, when He changed the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour, on the same day, rose from the dead; for the day before that of Saturn, He was crucified; and on the day after it, which is Sunday, He appeared to His Apostles and disciples, and taught them these things, which we have given to you also, for your consideration.

[1] ἀναπέμπει

Christians at least harmless.

68. If, then, these things appear to you to have reason and truth, respect them; but if they seem to be frivolous, hold them in contempt as frivolities; and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as if they were enemies: for we forewarn you, that you shall not escape the future judgment of God, if you continue in your injustice; and we will exclaim, Let what is pleasing to God be done. And although from the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian your father, we might entreat you to command that judgment should be done according to our petition; yet, it is not because it was decided by Adrian, that we the rather urged this; but we have made our appeal, and exposition, because we knew

that we ask what is just. I have, however, subjoined a copy of Adrian's letter, that you may know that we speak truth in this also. The copy is as follows. APOL. I.69,70.

69. To Minucius Fundanus, Proconsul of Asia[a]. I received the letter written to me by your predecessor, the most illustrious Serenius Granianus, and it is not my pleasure to pass by without enquiry the matter referred to me, lest both the inoffensive should be disturbed, and an opportunity afforded to slanderous informers of practising their vile traffic. Now, if our subjects of the Provinces are able to sustain by evidence this their demand against the Christians, so as to answer before a Court of Justice, I have no objection to their taking this course. But to mere clamorous demands and outcries[b] for this purpose, I do not allow them to have recourse. For it is much more equitable, if any one wishes to accuse them, for *you* to take cognizance of the matters laid to their charge. If therefore any one accuses and proves that the aforesaid men do any thing contrary to the laws, you will also determine their punishments in accordance with their offences. As on the other hand, by Hercules, have an especial regard; that if any one demand a writ of accusation against any of these Christians, merely for the sake of libelling them as such, you proceed against that man with heavier penalties, in proportion to his heinous guilt. Judgment of Adrian.

70. [c]"The Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, chief Pontiff, in the fifteenth year of Tribunicial power, the third time Consul; Father of his country; to the States General of Asia, greeting. Judgment of Antoninus.

I indeed should have thought that the gods would take care that such men should not escape discovery, for it is much more likely that they will punish, if at least they can, such persons as refuse to worship them; yet on these men

[a] Eusebius tells us, that S. Justin inserted a copy of the original Latin version of this Letter, which he himself translated into Greek. (Euseb. book iv. chap. 8.) This translation, with a Latin version formed from it, is given in the Cologne and Benedictine Editions; but we have preferred to follow the original Latin as preserved by Rufinus, and given from him by Otto.

[b] ἀξιώσεσιν. Valesius observes, that this word was used of the acclamations made in the Theatres, 'The Christians to the lions,' &c. See Tertullian, Apol. xl. De Spec. xxvi.

[c] Ed. Ben. observes, that this Letter is inserted from Eusebius, who gives it, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13. and quotes Melito in support of its genuineness. There is no remark of St. Justin upon it, as there would have been had he inserted it himself.

JUST. MART. you bring trouble and arraign their opinion, which they hold, as that of Atheists, and lay to their charge certain other things which we are not able to prove. But it must make for their cause to have the character of enduring even death for that of which they are accused, and they conquer you by lavishing their own lives rather than obey in what you require them to do. Now touching the earthquakes that have happened, and are happening, it is not reasonable for you to remind us of them, you who despond whenever they take place, if you compare your own feelings with theirs, because they are far more trustful than you towards God. And you indeed seem at such time to be ignorant of the gods, and you neglect the temples, and have no knowledge of the worship of God. Hence you envy those who do serve Him, and persecute them even unto death. Other Governors of Provinces also wrote to my father of sacred memory[1] about these people; to whom he replied, that they should not disturb such persons, unless they were detected attempting any thing against the Roman government. And many have communicated with me too about them, to whom I also have replied, adopting my father's opinion. But if any one has any information to bring against a person of this class, merely because he is such, let the accused be absolved from the charge, even if he appear to be one of them, but the informer shall be amenable to justice."

[1] Lit. my most divine father.

Testimony of Marcus Antoninus.

71. [d] "The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Germanicus Parthicus Sarmaticus, to the people and sacred Senate of Rome, greeting.

I explained to you the magnitude of my design, and, when labouring and suffering in a strait from being surrounded on the confines of Germany, what results I achieved, when I was shut up in Carnutum by seventy-four battalions[e], about nine miles off. But the enemy being near us, the scouts informed us, and Pompeianus our general signified what we knew, (for I was hemmed in by a vast and indiscriminate host, whilst I had only a limited

[d] This Letter is not considered genuine, although there is early evidence of the existence of a Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the same purport. It would be at any rate later than this Apology.

[e] Lit. 'Dragons;' but the standards may be intended. Scaliger would read θρούγκων, as they were barbarians.

draft of the [1]first, tenth, and [2]double legion of our armies, and [3]the legion of the straits with me,) that a mingled multitude of the enemy to the number of 977000 was close at hand. When then I compared myself and the number of my troops with the vast forces of the barbarians and enemy, I had instant recourse to putting up prayers to the gods of our country. But being disregarded by them, and perceiving the strait to which my power was reduced, I called out those among us who are termed Christians, and on examination I discovered their multitude and strength: and I vented my rage at them, which was not right, for I subsequently learned their power. Wherefore they begin their work not with a preparation of darts, or arms, or trumpets, for this is hateful to them, on account of the God Whom they bear in their conscience; and hence it is probable, that those whom we take to be Atheists, may have God of His own free will entrenched within their conscience; but casting themselves on the ground, they prayed not for me alone, but also for the army that was present, that God would relieve the hunger and thirst that oppressed them; for we had had no water for five days, because none could be found, we being in the middle of Germany, and on the enemy's confines. But as soon as they cast themselves on the ground, and invoked a God whom I knew not, immediately water followed from Heaven. Upon us indeed it was most cool, but upon the enemies of the Romans it was a fiery hail. And moreover immediately [we recognised] the presence of God consequent on this prayer, as of One Invincible and Indestructible. Beginning then from hence, let us allow such to be Christians, lest by their prayers they obtain some similar weapon against us. With regard to such an one, I decide that he shall not be accused because he is a Christian; but if any be found to accuse a Christian because he is one, with regard to that Christian who is delated and confesses that such is the fact, I wish it to be made plain that he is accused of nothing else but this only, that he is a Christian, but that the accuser shall be burnt alive. And the Christian who confesses and certifies this, the officer entrusted with the government of the Province is not to compel to retractation and loss of his

Apol. I. 71.

[1] πρίμας
[2] γεμίνας
[3] φρέντησίας.

JUST. MART. freedom. I desire that this be confirmed by a decree of the Senate also, and I command that this edict of mine be published in the forum of Trajan, that all may be enabled to read it. The Prefect Vetrasius Pollio will take care that it is sent into the Provinces round about, and that no one who wishes to use and possess [a transcript of] it, be prevented from obtaining it from the documents now published by us."

THE SECOND APOLOGY

OF

S. JUSTIN MARTYR

FOR THE CHRISTIANS

TO ANTONINUS PIUS.

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1. EVEN the deeds that were done yesterday[1] and the day before in our city by Urbicus, O Romans, and those which in like manner are unreasonably perpetrated by your governors in all parts, compel me to frame this composition of argument, in behalf of us, who are of like passions with yourselves and your brethren, even though you do not acknowledge it, and wish it not, because of the glory of what are considered by you as distinctions. For every where, whoever is corrected by father, or neighbour, or child, or friend, or brother, or husband, or wife, for any fault, as for being inflexible, and addicted to sensuality, and hard to excite to good, (except those who believe that the unjust and intemperate shall be punished in eternal fire, but that the good and those who live like Christ shall be together with God in a state free from suffering, I allude to those who have become Christians,) these, and the evil demons who hate us, and who have, as judges under them, such as the above, their subjects and worshippers, cause the latter, like rulers who are under the influence of devils, to put us to death. But in order that the very cause of the whole thing that Urbicus did may be made plain to you, I will relate all that was done.

Malice of demons and wicked men.

[1] χθὲς τε καὶ πρώην.

JUST. MART. Late execution of three martyrs.

2. A certain woman had a husband who was intemperate, she herself also formerly being intemperate. But when she knew the doctrines of Christ, she was brought to self-control; and endeavoured to persuade her husband to the same, relating these doctrines, and teaching him that there would be a future punishment in eternal fire, for all who did not govern their lives by moderation and right reason. But he continued in the same excesses, and by his conduct alienated his wife from him; and she thinking it wrong to live any longer with one, who, against the law of nature, and contrarily to right, laboured to procure by every device the means of gratification, wished for a divorce; and when she yielded to the entreaties of those about her who wished her to remain with him still, as her husband would come bye and bye to the hope of a change, she constrained herself, and remained with him. But when her husband went into Alexandria, and was said to be acting worse, she, that she might not be a partaker in his sins and impieties, by remaining in her connection with him, and continuing to share his table and his bed, gave him what you call the [1]bill of divorce, and was separated. But this good and admirable husband; who ought to have rejoiced, that the deeds which she formerly used to commit recklessly with the servants and hirelings, taking delight in drunkenness, and every kind of wickedness, she now ceased to do, and wished him to abstain from doing as well; when she had parted from him against his will, laid an accusation against her, declaring that she was a Christian. And she addressed a petition to you, O Emperor, praying that she might first be permitted to arrange her affairs, and then, after they were set in order, she would defend herself on the subject of the accusation. And you granted her petition. Her former husband then, being now unable to reply to her, turned in the following manner on a certain Ptolemæus, who was her teacher in the Christian doctrines, whom Urbicus punished; he persuaded the centurion who threw Ptolemæus into prison, and who was his friend, to take him, and ask him this single question alone: Was he a Christian? And Ptolemæus, who was a lover of truth, and no wise disposed to be a deceiver or falsifier, confessed himself to be a Christian; on which the

[1] βεπούδιον

centurion caused him to be put in bonds, and confined him for a long time in the prison. At last, when he came before Urbicus, he was likewise asked this same question only, If he were a Christian? And he again, knowing the blessings he had derived through the doctrine of Christ, confessed the school of divine virtue; for he who denies any thing, either does so from condemning it; or, knowing himself to be unworthy of, and alien to it, avoids the confession of it: none of which conditions apply to the true Christian. And when Urbicus commanded him to be led away to execution, a certain Lucius, who was also himself a Christian, seeing the decision that was thus unreasonably given, said to Urbicus, What is the reason of your punishing this man, who is neither an adulterer, nor a fornicator, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor a robber, and who is not convicted of having committed any offence whatever, but who confesses himself to bear the name of a Christian? You judge not, O Urbicus, in such a manner as becomes the Emperor Pius, or the Philosopher the son of Cæsar, or the sacred Senate. He gave no other reply to Lucius than merely this: You yourself also appear to me to be such an one; and, when Lucius answered, Certainly I am; he commanded him also, in return, to be led away. He acknowledged it with thanks, knowing that he would be liberated from such wicked masters, and would go to the Father, and King of the heavens. And some other third person coming up, was in like manner condemned to punishment. Apol. II. 3.

3. I also expect to be entrapped by some of those whom I have mentioned, and to be affixed to the stake, even perhaps by Crescens, that lover of [1]noise and [2]boasting: for it is not fit to term the man a lover of [2]wisdom, who accuses us in public of what he knows nothing of; as if Christians were Atheists, and wicked persons; acting thus to gain the grace and favour of the deluded multitude. For if he attacks us without studying the doctrines of Christ, he is utterly wicked, and far worse than the common people, who often take care not to speak about subjects they do not understand, and bear false witness. Or, if he have read them, and have not understood the sublimity of their contents; or have understood it, and acts Justin expects the like.

[1] φιλοψόφου.
[2] φιλοκόμπου.
[3] φιλοσόφου.

JUST. MART. [1] παμπόνηρος

thus that he may not be suspected of being a Christian; he is far more base and utterly [1]depraved, as being a slave to popular and senseless opinion and fear. For I wish you to know, that I proposed and asked him certain questions of [this kind] both to ascertain, and to prove, that he really knows nothing, and that I speak truth. If these disputations have not been reported to you, I am ready to repeat my questions again even in your presence, and it would even be a deed worthy of you as Emperors. But, if my questions and his answers are known to you, you must see that he knows nothing of our customs, or, if he knows them, that he does not dare to speak of them as Socrates would have done, through fear of his hearers: proving himself not a [2]lover of Wisdom, as I have already said, but a lover of [3]vainglory, who values not that admirable saying of Socrates, that no man should be honoured before the truth; but it is impossible for a Cynic, who asserts the End to be indifferent, to know any good but indifference.

[2] φιλόσοφος
[3] φιλόδοξος

Why Christians do not kill themselves.

4. But, lest any one should say to us, Do you all then destroy yourselves, and go at once to God, and give us no trouble! I will tell you why we do not so; and why, when we are interrogated, we fearlessly confess. We have been taught that God made not the world for nothing, but for the human race; and we have said that He takes pleasure in those who imitate His own perfections, and is displeased with those who prefer evil, whether in word or in deed. If then we should all destroy ourselves, we are the cause, as far as in us lies, why no one would be born and instructed in the doctrines of God: or even that the human race should cease to exist; and if we act thus, even we ourselves do what is contrary to the will of God. But, when we are interrogated, we do not deny, because we are conscious of nothing evil in ourselves, but account it wicked not in all things to speak the truth, which we also know to be pleasing to God; and we also now desire to disabuse you of an unfair prejudice.

5. But if the idea should occur to any one, that, if we confess God to be our helper, we should not, as we say, be mastered and persecuted by the wicked[a]; I will answer this

[a] Ben. cites Clem. Al. Strom. iv. when persecuted?' 'Why, they say, are ye not helped

also; God, Who made the whole world, having subjected the things on earth to man, and arranged the heavenly bodies for the increase of fruits, and the changes of seasons, and laid down a divine law for these[b], which He is also seen to have created for man, delivered the care of man, and of things under heaven, to the Angels whom He appointed over them; but the Angels transgressed this order, and fell into intercourse with women, and begot sons, who are those that are called demons[c]; and moreover they henceforth subjected the human race to themselves; in part, by magic writings; in part, by fears and punishments which they inflicted on them; in part, through their instruction of sacrifices, and incense, and libations, of which they stood in need after they were enslaved by the passions of their lusts: and they sowed among men murders, wars, adulteries, and intemperance, and every kind of vice. Hence also the poets and mythologists, not knowing that the Angels, and the demons that were born of them, did those things to men, and women, and cities, and nations, which they described, referred them to God Himself, and to those whom they considered as sons begotten of Him; and to the sons of those whom they called His brothers, Neptune and Pluto, and to their sons in like manner, for they called every one of these by the name which each of the Angels gave to himself, and to his children.

Apol. II. 6.

Gen. 6, 2.

6. But proper name for the Father of all things, Who is unbegotten, there is none. For whoever is called by a name, has the person older than himself who gives him that name[d]. But the terms Father, and God, and Creator, and

Names of God and Christ. Devils cast out

[b] *τούτοις*. Such is the conjecture of Thirlby; the Ms. reading is *τοῦτον*, referring to *νόμον*, with little difference of sense. The Benedictine approves but does not adopt the change; but Otto observes, "If we read *τούτοις*, referring to the heavenly bodies, *οὐρανίοις στοιχείοις* mentioned before, we have a subject to which to refer the words that follow, "which also He is seen to have created for man:" and the whole sentence runs in the usual order." We have translated the passage according to this suggestion.

[c] So Apology i. 55. Tertullian says, Apol. chap. 22. "We may find in Holy Writ how, from the Angels who fell, sprang a race of demons more corrupt than themselves, which has been condemned by God, together with its progenitors, and with that its chief, of whom we spoke." Athenagoras, Apol. §. 25. holds that the giants were the offspring of these Angels. It is to be observed, that the usual Greek copies of the book of Genesis had *angels of God*, for *sons of God*.

[d] Ben. cites S. John Damasc. Mart. of S. Babylas. Parall. p. 785. B.

JUST. MART. Lord, and Master, are not names, but terms of address derived from His benefits and His works. But His Son, Who alone is properly called Son, the Word, Who was before all things, and Who was with Him, and was begotten[e], when in the beginning through Him He created and ordered all things, is called Christ, as He was anointed; and by Him God set all things in order, and this name itself contains an unknown signification; as also the title God, is not a name, but the notion which is implanted in the nature of man, of a thing which can hardly be explained. But Jesus has the name and signification both of Man and of Saviour; for He was even made Man as I have said, and born according to the will of God and the Father, for those who believe in Him, and for the destruction of devils: and now you may learn this even from what passes under your own eyes; for numbers of those who were possessed with devils throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our people, the Christians, by exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed, and do even now heal; when they were not cured by all the other exorcists, and practisers of incantations, and charmers; overthrowing and driving out the devils who had possession of men.

The world preserved for Christians. Its end not by Fate.

7. Hence, God also refrains from causing the confusion and destruction of the whole world[f], that both the wicked Angels, and devils, and men, may exist no longer; because of the race of the Christians, which He knows to be in nature the cause of its preservation[g]. Otherwise it would be no longer possible for you to execute, and be urged to, such things as you do by evil demons; but the fire of judgment would descend, and utterly dissolve all things; just as

[e] Ben. here observes, that Justin speaks, like many other authors, of a Generation of the Son at the creation of the world. But this generation, he continues, "in no degree detracts from the eternity of the Son, since He was with the Father before He went forth to the creation of the world." See Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. III. ii. §. 1. and Grabe's note.

[f] Ben. cites Apol. §. 28, and 45. and Dial. §. 39. Hermas I. §. 2. and Ep. ad Diognet. §. 6. Origen, Cels. iv. p. 175. and viii. p. 424. Clem. A. Quis Dives, p. 36.

[g] Literally, "Of which He knows in nature that it is a cause." Otto, on this passage, observes, after giving the different versions of some of the Editors, that we should probably read it thus; 'the race of Christians, which He knows to be a cause (in causâ) of the Universe being preserved.'

formerly the waters of the flood left no one, but only him, with his family, who is called by us Noah, and by you Deucalion; from whom, again, such multitudes were born, of whom some were evil, and others good. So we also affirm, that there will be the conflagration; but not like that of the Stoics according to the theory of the change of all things into one another, which appears a most degrading notion[h]. Neither is it by fatality that men do or endure what takes place; but each does well, or ill, by his choice; and by the activity of evil demons it is that the good, as Socrates and the like, are persecuted and imprisoned: but Sardanapalus, and Epicurus, and the like, appear to flourish in plenty and splendour. But the Stoics, not understanding this, declare that all things happen by the compulsion of fatality. But, because God in the beginning created the race both of Angels, and of men, with free will, they will justly suffer in eternal fire the penalty of whatever they have done amiss; for it is the nature of every creature to be capable of vice and of virtue, nor would any of them be praiseworthy if it had not the power of being turned toward either. And men every where who have been legislators or philosophers according to right reason, shew this from their directions to do one thing, and to abstain from another; and the Stoics in their system of morals hold the same principles in great honour; so that you may see that in their doctrine of principles, and incorporeals, they do not succeed well; for if they say that the actions of men are done by fatality, they will either assert that God is nothing but what undergoes change and alteration, and is ever resolved into the same elements; and will appear to have a comprehension

APOL. II. 7.

[h] The pantheistic doctrine of the Stoics identified the world with God, Whom they considered in consequence to be corporeal, and therefore corruptible and subject to dissolution. They held a succession of worlds to be generated and destroyed by a succession of conflagrations, after which every thing was to be renewed in perfect resemblance of what had been before and was to be again. They considered the governing principle of human actions to lie not in the will but in fate or necessity, and in consequence denied the substantive existence of virtue and vice; whilst, teaching that the soul was mortal, they of course allowed no state of rewards or punishments after death, and thus they fell into those contradictions with which St. Justin urges them. Origen, cont. Cels. p. 17, 169. Mosheim de rebus, p. 24. Brucker, Hist. Crit. vol. 2. Cudworth's Intellectual System, chap. iii. Sect. 5. &c.

JUST. MART. only of things corruptible, and to say that God Himself both in part and in whole comes into every kind of vice; or, that virtue and vice are nothing; which is opposed to every sound idea, and reason, and mind.

Right reason ever hated.

8. And those who followed the doctrines of the Stoics, since they were admirable in their ethical system; as were also the poets in some respects, because of the seed of that reason[1] which is implanted in the whole race of man; were, we know, both hated and put to death. We are aware of Heraclitus, as I have already said; and Musonius amongst those of our own times, and others; for, as I have signified, the devils are ever at work to cause all who labour to direct their lives in any degree whatever according to reason, and to avoid vice, to be hated. And it is nothing wonderful if the devils are proved to cause those, who live not[1] according to a part of that seminal reason, but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word, which is Christ; to be hated much worse. But they will undergo a fitting punishment, and vengeance, when they are shut up in eternal fire. For if they are even now defeated by men through the name of Jesus Christ, this is a warning of the punishment which is in store for themselves, and for all who serve them, in eternal fire; for thus both all the Prophets foretold that it should be; and Jesus, our Teacher, instructed us.

[1] λόγου

Eternal fire no fiction.

9. But that no one may repeat what is said by those who are considered Philosophers, that what we say about the wicked being punished in eternal fire, is a mere boast, and a bugbear; and that it is through fear, and not for the sake of what is good, and pleasurable, that we would have men live virtuously; I will briefly reply to this, that if it be not so, there is no God; or if there is one, He cares not for men; and virtue and vice are nothing; and, as I have said, the lawgivers punish unjustly those who transgress their good ordinances. But since they are not unjust, and their Father teaches them by the Word to do the same things as

[1] The word 'not' which is here omitted in the Ms. should be inserted, as Ben. and Otto agree, and as the sense evidently requires. Ben. refers to S. Clem. Al. Strom. i. p. 288, 298, 674. &c. Protrept. p. 69.

Himself[k], they who agree with them are not unjust[l]. But should any one instance the different laws which are found among men, and say that with some this is thought to be good, and that to be evil; and with others what the former thought evil, is held to be good, and what they thought to be good is held to be evil; let him listen to what I will also reply to this. We know that even the evil angels laid down laws akin to their own wickedness, in which such men as resemble them take pleasure; and the true Word, when He came, shewed that not all opinions, nor all doctrines, were good; but that some were bad, and others were good; so that I will declare the same and like things even to such men as these, and they shall be uttered at more length if need be. But I will now return to my subject. APOL. II. 10.

10. Our doctrines, then, appear to be more sublime than all human teaching, because Christ Who appeared for us was made the whole rational being[1], both body, and reason, and soul: for all that the philosophers and legislators at any time declared, or discovered aright, they accomplished according to their portion of discovery and contemplation of the Word; but as they did not know all the properties of the Word, which is Christ, they often said things that were even contrary to themselves. And they who were born before Christ, as to His Humanity, when they endeavoured to examine and confute things by reason, were dragged before the judgment-seats as wicked men, and busy bodies. He who was more active in this than all of them, Socrates, was accused of the same things as we are; for they said that he introduced new Gods[m], and did not acknowledge those whom the city considered as Gods. He, in fact, expelled from the polity[n] the evil demons, and such as did what the Poets described; and he taught men to reject Homer, and the other Poets; and he exhorted them to gain the knowledge Christians compared with philosophers.

[1] Read διὰ τοῦ τὸ λογ.

[k] Ben. cites Philo de Sacr. Abel. p. 153. and Tertull. Apol. §. 45. and Aug. de lib. arbitr. i. 15.

[l] The original reading of this passage is as represented in the text. The Benedictine would read, "they who do not obey them are unjust," taking S. Justin's meaning to be, that since the lawgivers direct some things to be done, and others to be avoided, and God Himself has given us a law, it follows that man does not lack free-will; and therefore, that they who obey not the lawgivers are unjust; and he supposes a reference to be made to Luke vi. 35. Matt. v. 45. Otto, however, makes no alteration in the text.

[m] Thirlby cites Plato Apol. Soc. p. 24. Xen. Mem. i. p. 412.

[n] Plat. Rep. ii. p. 377. x. p. 595. where he makes Socrates the speaker.

Just. Mart. Acts 17, 23.

of the God Who was Unknown to them, by the investigation of reason; saying, "It is not easy to discover the Father and Creator of all things, nor when discovered is it safe to declare Him to all[1]." This however our Christ did through His own power. For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine. But in Christ, Who was known even to Socrates in part, (for He was, and is, the Word, Who is in every one, and Who foretold all things that were about to come to pass, both by the Prophets, and by Himself also; when He was made of like passions with us, and taught these things,) not only philosophers and grammarians put their faith, but even handicraftsmen, and such as were wholly uneducated, despising reputation, and fear, and death; for it is the power of the Ineffable Father which does this, and not the powers of human reason.

[1] Plato, in his Timæus.

Constancy of Christians.

11. Nor should we be slain, nor would wicked men and devils be stronger than we, were it not that to every man that is born, it is also appointed to die; hence when we pay that debt, we give thanks. And here I think it good and opportune to insert this extract from Xenophon, for the benefit of Crescens, and those who are as senseless as himself. Xenophon says[1], that Hercules, as he came to a place where three roads met, found Virtue and Vice, who appeared to him in the form of women; and that Vice, in a luxurious and sensual garb, and with a countenance made alluring by such means, and being instantly captivating to the sight, promised Hercules, that if he would be her follower, she would always take care that he should pass his life amidst pleasure, and decked with the most brilliant ornaments, and such as she herself then wore: and that Virtue, who had a homely[2] mien and vest, said, If you will obey me, you shall adorn yourself with no brief and perishable decoration or beauty, but with everlasting and beautiful ornaments. And we are sure that every one who eschews those things which appear good, and prefers those which are considered difficult and unaccountable, gains happiness: for Vice, as a disguise of her own actions, assuming the properties which appertain to Virtue, and which are really good, through imitation of what is incorruptible, (for she has nothing that is incorruptible, nor can she produce such,) leads captive the low-minded

[1] Xen. Mem. ii. 21.

[2] αὐχμηρῷ.

among men, putting her own evil habits on virtue. But they who understand the things that belong to that which is truly good, are also uncorrupted in virtue; which every sensible person ought to think of Christians, and of the athletes, and of all who do such things as the Poets relate of those who are honoured as gods; drawing his conclusion from the fact, that death, even when we could escape it, is held by us in contempt. APOL. II. 12.

12. For I myself, when I took pleasure in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, seeing them to be fearless of death, and of every thing else that was thought dreadful, considered that it was impossible that they should live in wickedness and sensuality: for, who that was a sensualist, or licentious, and thought human flesh to be good food, would welcome death, that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and not endeavour, by every means, always to continue his present life, and to escape the officers; not to speak of denouncing himself to death? This also then have the evil demons, through the agency of certain wicked men, caused to be done; for when they had killed some, to serve the false accusations which they bring against us, they dragged our domestics, or children, or wives to the torture, and compelled them by dreadful torments to admit those fabulous rites which they themselves openly perform; of which, as we have no concern with them, we make no account; having the Unbegotten and Ineffable God as a witness of our thoughts and actions. For why did we not publicly confess even these things to be good, and prove them to be divine philosophy; saying, that when we kill a man, we celebrate the mysteries of Saturn; and that, when we take our fill of blood, (as it is said of us,) we imitate what you do to the idol that you honour[*], on which is sprinkled the blood not only of irrational animals, but even of men? For through him who is the most illustrious and noble among you, you make the libation of the blood of those who are put to death. And why, when you imitate Jupiter, and Only the innocent welcome death.

[*] The Editors cite Tertullian, Apol. §. 8. De Spec. cap. 6. Tatian, §. 26. Theoph. Antioch. iii. 7. Min. Fel. c. 21. Lact. i. c. 21, and 30. Athanas. c. Gent. p. 24. Firmicus de Prof. Rel. Epiph. Anc. p. 108. Prud. adv. Symmach. v. 380. Porphyr. de Abst. ii. p. 226.

JUST. MART. the other gods, in your sodomitical practices, and your shameless connections with women, do you urge in your defence the writings of Epicurus and the Poets? But when we persuade you to avoid these practices, and those who thus acted, with their imitators; as I have even now taken pains to do, in these pages; we are attacked by you in various ways. But for this we care not, for we know that God is a just observer of all things. I would that we now had some one to mount a high rostrum, and cry with a loud voice, Shame, shame, on you, that ye charge what yourselves do openly on these innocent persons; even attributing to them things that apply to yourselves, and your gods; but with which they have no concern whatever. Alter your ways. Learn moderation.

Christian doctrine surpasses Platonic.

13. For I myself, when I discovered the evil disguise which was thrown around the divine doctrines of Christians by the evil demons, to deter others from them, laughed, both at the authors of these falsehoods, and their disguise, and the popular opinion; and I confess that I both prayed, and strove with all my might, to be found a Christian; not because the doctrines of Plato are entirely different from those of Christ, but because they are not in all respects like them; no more in fact are those of the others, the Stoics, for example, and poets, and prose writers; for each seeing, through a part of the Seminal Divine Word, that which was kindred to those, discoursed rightly. But they who contradict them on more important points, appear not to have possessed the hidden wisdom and the knowledge which cannot be spoken against. Whatever all men have uttered aright, then, belongs to us Christians; for we worship and love, next to God, the Word which is from the Unbegotten and Ineffable God: for it was even for us that He was made Man, that He might be a partaker of our very sufferings, and bring us healing. For all writers through the engrafted[1] seed of the Word, which was planted in them, were able to see the truth darkly; for the seed and imitation of a thing, which is given according to capability, is one thing, and the thing itself of which the communication and imitation are given according to His grace, is another.

[1] ἐμφυτου James 1, 21.

S. Justin asks a public verdict.

14. I entreat you then to be pleased to subscribe your

judgment, and publish this little book, that our customs may be explained to others as well as yourselves, so that these things may be known to men, and that they may have the power of being freed from erroneous opinions and ignorance of good, who are at present subject by[p] their own fault to punishment, that what I have said may be made known: because it is in the nature of man to know good and evil, and because in condemning us, whom they know not, of such actions as they term shameful, while they take pleasure in gods who do such, and, even now, require the like from men; in punishing us, as if we did such things, with death or chains, or some other like infliction, they condemn themselves. Hence there is no need of other judges. APOL. II. 15.

15. And I have held in utter contempt the doctrine of the wicked and deceitful Simon of my own nation, and if you subscribe this work, I will unmask him to them all, that they may, if possible, change their opinion; for it is on this account alone that I have composed this treatise. Our doctrines, however, are not to a sane judgment shameful, but they surpass all human wisdom. If not so, they are at least unlike those of the Sotadists, the Philænidians, the dancers, the Epicureans, and other like doctrines of the poets, with which when enacted[q] and written, all are allowed to acquaint themselves. I will now[r] conclude, having done what I can, and prayed that all men may in every land be vouchsafed the truth. May you too, in a manner worthy of piety and philosophy, decide for your own sakes with justice. Simon Magus an impostor. Christian doctrine alone true.

[r] λοιπόν.

[p] Παρὰ. We have here given to this word a sense equivalent to that of the Latin preposition per, as suggested by the Benedictine, and approved by Otto. S. Irenæus uses it in the same sense in his prologue, and in Book v. chap. 39. §. 3. See also S. Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, §. 88.

[q] He seems to mean, as Thirlby observes, on the stage,

THE

DIALOGUE OF S. JUSTIN MARTYR

WITH

TRYPHO THE JEW.

S. Justin meets Trypho.

1. As I was one morning pacing the walks of the Xystus[a], a person in company with others met me, and addressing me, said, "Good morrow, Philosopher." He then turned about and walked with me, as also did his friends; whilst I in my turn accosted him; "What would you have with me, Sir?" I said.

"I was instructed," he replied, "by Corinthus the Socratic at Argos, not to pass by or neglect those who wear your dress, but rather to shew them every attention in my power, and to hold conversation with them, if haply they or myself might thus gain some improvement from our intercourse, for it would be well for both if either should thus be benefited. And for this reason, when I see any one in such a dress, I gladly accost him; and was accordingly just now much pleased to be able to introduce myself to you, and these other persons come along with me, with the same hope of hearing something of value from you."

"Who are you then, excellent Sir?" I replied with a smile. He told me frankly who and what he was. "My name," he said, "is Trypho[b]. I am a Hebrew of the circumcision, who have made my escape from the late war[c], and I live at

[a] From Eusebius' History, book iv. chap. 18. we learn, that the scene of the following Dialogue was Ephesus.

[b] Eusebius speaks of Trypho, as "the most distinguished of the Hebrews of his time." Hist. book iv. chap. 18.

[c] This war was the war of Barcochbas, which lasted from A.D. 132 to 135, and in which Jerusalem was taken by Hadrian, when 580,000 Jews are said to have perished. St. Justin alludes to the same event in his longer Apology, §. 31, 32.

present in Greece, and chiefly at Corinth." "How then," said I, "can you derive so great benefit from philosophy as from your own lawgiver and prophets?" DIAL. TRYPH. 2.

"Why not?" he answered. "Are not all the discourses of the Philosophers about God, and their disquisitions, enquiries into His Unity[1] and Providence? Or is it not the very employment of philosophy to enquire into the nature of the Deity?"

[1] μοναρχίας.

"Yes," I said, "these are our principles also; but most of the Philosophers are entirely indifferent as to whether there be one or many Gods, and whether their providential care is exercised over each of us or not; regarding this knowledge as in no way conducive to happiness. They even endeavour to prove to us, that God regards indeed the universal, and the genus and species, but that of me and you and the individual He takes no care; or there would be no need for us to pray to Him night and day. It is easy to perceive to what end this reasoning conducts them. It confers a fearlessness and freedom both on the teachers and on the disciples, allowing all to do and to say whatever they please, without dreading any punishment or expecting any reward at the hand of God. How indeed can it be otherwise with those who assert that things will ever continue as they are now, and that you and I shall live in the next life just as we do in this, without being either better or worse[d]? But others[e], who maintain the soul to be immortal and incorporeal, think it impossible that they should be punished even if they commit sin; because if the soul is incorporeal, it is incapable of suffering; and if immortal, they hold that they have no need of any thing further from God." "Tell us," he then said politely smiling, "what is your opinion of these things, and what you think about God, and what is your philosophy."

S. Justin's trial of Stoics, Platonists, and Pythagoreans.

2. "I will tell you," I replied, "what is my own conviction on the subject. Philosophy is indeed the greatest of treasures, and most precious in the sight of God, to whom it alone introduces and unites man; and they who

[d] He seems to refer to the notion of the Fatalist Stoics of his day, that all things would come round again exactly as they had been.

[e] These are Platonists, of whom St. Justin makes mention in section 5.

JUST. MART. have applied their minds to it are the really holy; but the many have not divined what this Philosophy is, and for what end it is sent down to man, otherwise there would not be at the same time such persons as Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, Theoretics[f], and Pythagoreans, this knowledge being always one and the same; but I will now tell you how it eventually became thus [1]many-headed; they who first applied themselves to Philosophy, and became celebrated in consequence, happened to be followed by some who paid no regard to truth, but being struck merely by the fortitude and temperance of their teachers, with the [2]novelty of their doctrines, considered that to be truth which they had learnt each from his own master; and they in their turn delivered to their successors some such and other like notions, so that they became known each by the name of the first author of their doctrine.

[1] πολύκρανος.

[2] τὸ ξένον.

"And when I was at first desirous, for my own part, of holding converse with one of them, I put myself under the tuition of a Stoic. After I had lived a long time with him and had gained no certain knowledge of God, (for this he knew not himself, nor did he consider such knowledge necessary,) I left him, and went to a Peripatetic, a shrewd teacher as he thought himself. He endured my presence for some days, but then requested me to fix a remuneration, that our intercourse might not be without profit. On this account I left him, not thinking him worthy of the name of a Philosopher; but my mind still hankering after whatever was peculiar and valuable in philosophy, I joined a very celebrated Pythagorean, a man who prided himself greatly upon his wisdom; but when I informed him of my wish to become his hearer and disciple, "Are you then familiar," he asked, "with music, astronomy, and geometry? or how can you hope to comprehend any of the things which tend

[f] The Theoretics are not usually named among the sects of Philosophers, but their name denotes that they gave themselves especially to contemplation. "Isidore of Pelusium," says the Benedictine on the passage, "divides Philosophy into three kinds, of which the first, which serves as a foundation, is occupied with action; the second, or ornamental part, with reasoning; and the third, the summit and crown of all, with speculation and meditation; in which sense," he continues, "S. Justin here uses the term Theoretics; justly attacking them along with other sects, as true Philosophy ought to be commended no less for action than for contemplation."

to happiness, unless you are first grounded in such studies as wean the mind from the objects of sense, and render it capable of entertaining those of the intellect, so that it may be enabled to discern the beautiful and the very essential of good?" DIAL. TRYPH. 3.

When he had spoken much in favour of these sciences, and of the necessity of their attainment, he sent me away, as I confessed my ignorance of them. I was naturally much cast down at having my hopes thus disappointed, and the more so, as I really thought him a man of some knowledge. But when I considered, on the other hand, how long a time one must spend on these subjects, I could not endure the delay, and whilst I was in this difficulty, it occurred to me to try the Platonists too; for they also enjoyed a high reputation; I accordingly devoted as much time as possible to a Sage, who had lately arrived at our city[g], and who was distinguished among that school; with him I improved, and made rapid advances daily. The Platonic conception of incorporeals greatly captivated me, and their theory of ideas[1] "added wings to my thoughts," so that within a short time I considered myself to have become a wise man, and in my vanity I hoped shortly to see God, for this is the object of the philosophy of Plato.

[1] ἀνεπτέρου μοι τὴν φρόνησιν.

3. In this disposition, thinking it right to accustom myself to extreme quietness, and absence from the haunts of men, I was in the habit of going to a spot not far from the sea, which as I one day approached, intending to spend some time there by myself, an aged person of a reverend aspect, and mild and venerable carriage, followed me at a little distance; but when I turned and looked at him somewhat keenly, "Do you know me?" he asked. I replied, that I did not. "Why then," said he, "do you look at me so closely?" "I am surprised," I answered, "at your being in the same place with me, for I did not expect to see any one here." "I am anxious," he replied, "about some absent members of my family, and I came to look out whether they will come in

He meets stranger, and hears of Christianity.

[g] This was most probably Flavia Neapolis, now Nablous; a city built near the ancient Sichem, and of which S. Justin, in the beginning of his longer Apology, describes his family as natives. Or it may have been, as some think, Ephesus. The Benedictine considers it to have been Alexandria, but he offers no sufficient reason for this opinion.

JUST. MART. sight from any quarter. But you yourself, why are you here?"

"I take pleasure," I replied, "in such walks as these, in which there is nothing to distract my attention, and where I can converse with myself without fear of interruption; for it is in such places that a lover of arguments[h] can make most [1]improvement." "Are you [2]a lover of mere arguments," he said, "and not of deeds and of truth; and do you not endeavour to become a master of practice, rather than of sophistry[i]?"

[1] φιλολογίᾳ. [2] φιλόλογος.

"What can one do better," I answered, "than thus prove, that reason[k] beareth rule over all things, and that a man who hath taken hold of it and is supported by it, can look down on the wanderings and the pursuits of others, and see that they do nothing that is sane, nothing that is pleasing to God; for without philosophy and right reason none can possess prudence. Every man should therefore give himself up to philosophy, and account it the greatest and most precious of gains, all other things being in comparison of second or third rate value; and if taken in connection with it, they should be held in moderate estimation, as worthy to be received; but if deprived of it and separated from it, even hurtful and degrading to those who take them in hand."

"Does philosophy then confer happiness?" he enquired. "It does indeed, I said, and it alone."

"But what is philosophy?" he said; "and tell me, if you have no objection, what is the happiness which it bestows?"

"Philosophy," I said, "is the knowledge of [3]*that which*

[3] τοῦ ὄντος.

[h] Used for the skill of reasoning in general, and not merely for false reasoning. It had however come to be taken in a bad sense, for unreal wisdom, and is thus opposed to 'Philosophy.'

[i] The terms φιλολογίᾳ and φιλόλογος are here used by S. Justin and his preceptor in somewhat different senses. The former taking λόγος in its wider meaning of reason or philosophical argument, and the latter replying as if he had intended to profess himself occupied with mere words and reasonings, as distinguished from realities.

[k] The Ben. Editor observes, that he uses the word λόγος, but in the merely philosophical sense, and promises to prove in his work on the Divinity of Christ, book iii. that the personal meaning was not current with the Platonists. See book iv. c. 1. of that work. He is more full in the Preface to S. Justin, pt. ii. c. i. The World, which embodies the ideas, not the λόγος in which they reside, is the *Platonic* Son of God.

is, and the discernment of truth; and happiness is the reward of this knowledge, and of wisdom." DIAL. TRYPH. 4.

"What do you define God to be?" he enquired.

"That which is ever one and the same, and the cause of being to all creatures, such without doubt is God." This was my reply, and he heard it with pleasure.

"Then," he asked again, "is not knowledge a term common to different things? for whoever is skilled in any of the arts, in that of strategy for instance, or of navigation, or of medicine, is said to have knowledge of it. But this cannot be asserted equally well of things divine and human: is there any science, for instance, which gives us the knowledge of things divine and human, and likewise of the divinity and righteousness in them?"

"Certainly there is," I answered.

"What then," he exclaimed, "can we know God and man, in the same way as we may know music, arithmetic, astronomy, and the like?"

"By no means," I replied.

"You have not answered me correctly then," he said, "for of some things we have knowledge by study or application, of others by sight. If any one were to tell you that in India there is a living creature unlike all others, of such or such a shape, multiform, and of various colours, you would have no positive knowledge of it until you had seen it, nor could you give any description of it, except you had heard from an eye-witness."

"True," I replied.

"How then," he enquired, "can Philosophers think rightly, or speak with truth, of God, when they have no knowledge of Him, Whom they have neither seen nor heard?"

"The Deity, father," I answered, "is not to be viewed by the organs of sight, like other creatures, but He is to be comprehended by the mind alone, as Plato declares, and I believe him."

4. "Have our minds then," he asked, "any power of such nature and extent, as can conceive that which has not first been communicated to them by the senses? Or will the The soul of itself cannot see God.

JUST. MART. mind of man ever see God, if it be not instructed by the Holy Spirit?"

"Plato tells us," I answered, "that the eye of the mind is of such a nature, and was given us to such an end, as to enable us to see with it by itself, when pure, that very Being Who is the source of whatever is an object of the mind itself, Who has neither colour, nor shape, nor size, nor any thing which the eye can see, but Who is above all essence, Who is ineffable, and undefinable, Who is alone beautiful and good, and Who is at once implanted into those souls who are naturally well born, through their relationship to and desire of seeing Him."

"What relationship then," he enquired, "have we with God? or is the soul divine and immortal, and a part of that very supreme Mind? And as It sees God, so can we in like manner with our mind comprehend Him, and thus obtain happiness even now?"

"Certainly it is so," I returned.

"Do all the souls then," he asked, "of all animals comprehend Him? or is the soul of man of one kind, and that of a horse or ass of another?"

"Not so," I replied, "but the souls of all creatures are alike."

"Shall horses and asses see God then?" he said, "or have they done so at any time?"

"No," I answered, "for not many men see Him, but only those who have lived uprightly, and who are made pure by righteousness, and the practice of every virtue."

"Man does not see God then," he answered, "through his relationship with Him, nor because he has mind, but because he is temperate and just."

"Yes," I answered, "and because he is endowed with that by which he is able to think of Him."

"What then," he answered, "do goats or sheep injure any one?"

"No one," I said, "in any way."

"Shall these animals then," according to your reasoning, "see God?"

"No, for their bodies being such as they are prevent them."

"If these animals could speak," he said, "be assured that they would with much more justice find fault with our bodies. But let us leave this for the present; and granting it to be as you say, tell me, does the soul see God whilst it is in the body, or when it is delivered from it?" DIAL. TRYPH. 5.

"Even whilst it is in a human form, it is able to [1]rest upon God, through its mind, but especially when freed from the body, and existing by itself, does it possess that which it loved wholly and for ever." [1] ἐγγενέσθαι

"Does it remember this when again united to a human body?"

"I suppose not," was my answer.

"What good then accrues to those souls who have seen God? or what advantage has the man who has seen Him over him who has not, if he cannot remember even so much as that he has seen Him?"

"I cannot tell," I replied.

"But what do they suffer who are judged unworthy of this sight?"

"Their punishment is to be imprisoned in the bodies of certain beasts."

"Do they know, then, that it is for this reason, namely, their having committed sin, that they are enclosed in such bodies?"

"I think not."

"As it appears, then, they gain no advantage from such punishment, and, in fact, cannot be said to be punished at all, if they are not conscious of it."

"Assuredly not."

"Souls then do not see God, nor do they pass into other bodies[1], or they would have known that they were thus punished; and have feared thereafter to commit even the least sin; but I grant you," he continued, "that souls are able to comprehend that there is a God, and that righteousness and piety are good."

"You speak truly," I replied.

5. "These Philosophers then," he continued, "know The soul not of itself immortal.

[1] Jebb ap. Ben. refers to the same argument in S. Irenæus, lib. 2. S. Clem. Al. Ecl. Proph. n. 17. Tertullian de Anima, cap. ii.

JUST. MART. nothing of such points, for they cannot even tell what the soul is."

"It appears not."

"Nor can the soul be termed immortal; for if it were, it must have been [1]ingenerate as well." "It is both ingenerate and immortal," I replied, "according to some who are termed Platonists."

[1] ἀγεννητος.

"Do you then," he asked, "consider the world ingenerate?"

"There are some who do," I said, "but for myself I do not agree with them."

"You are right; for what reason is there to suppose that a body possessed of such solidity and of the power [2]of resistance, which is of a compound nature, is mutable, decays, and is renewed every day, did not derive its origin from some first cause? And if the world was generated, souls were of necessity generated also, and perhaps there was a time when they did not exist; for they were generated for the sake of men and other animals, even if you say that they were generated separately by themselves, and not with their own bodies."

[2] ἀντιτυπίαν

"This opinion appears to be correct. They are not immortal then?"

"No, for we have seen that the world itself was generated[m]."

"But at the same time I affirm, that souls never perish, for this would be indeed a [3]godsend to the wicked. What then befalls them? The souls of the good are consigned to a better place, and those of the evil and unjust to a worse, there to await the day of judgment. Thus such as are worthy to see God [4]die no more, but others shall undergo punishment as long as it may please Him that they shall exist and be punished[n]. Is not your doctrine then the

[3] Ἕρμαιον.

[4] or, 'are found worthy of God.'

[m] The doctrine of S. Justin on the immortality of the soul, is precisely that of Tatian, "The soul is not of its own nature immortal, but yet it does not die." Sect. 13. beginning. The soul is here stated by S. Justin not to be immortal, in the sense of being absolutely incapable of destruction, which is only true of That which cannot but be and live, and must therefore have always been in being. It is in this sense that St. Paul teaches, that God alone "has immortality." 1 Tim. vi. 16.

[n] S. Justin is not to be supposed from these words, even if they had been spoken by himself instead of his preceptor, to doubt or deny the eternity of punishment, as is proved by his words

same as that of Plato in his Timæus about the world, where he says, that it is subject to corruption because it was created, but that it shall not be destroyed nor be subject to death, because God so wills; do you think that the same may be asserted of the soul and of all other things as well? For whatever exists now, or shall exist hereafter, beside[11] God, must necessarily be corruptible, and capable of total destruction, for God alone is ingenerate and incorruptible, and therefore it is that He *is* God, but all other things beside Him are generated and corruptible. Hence souls both die and are punished, for if they were ingenerate they could not have sinned, nor have been infected with folly, nor have felt fear, and again become courageous, nor would they ever have entered voluntarily into swine, or serpents, or dogs; nor would it have been possible for them to be coerced, if they were ingenerate, for one ingenerate must necessarily resemble and be equal to and the same as another ingenerate, nor can one be preferred to another in power or honour. Hence it is impossible that there should be several ingenerates, otherwise, if there were any points of difference between them, you could never by any amount of search discover the cause of it, but when you had allowed your mind to wander through infinity, it would fix at last after all its labour on some one Ingenerate, and this one you would confess to be the cause of all things; were Plato then, and Pythagoras, ignorant of these truths, wise men as they were, and the walls and bulwarks of our philosophy?"

Dial. Tryph. 6.

[11] lit. 'after.'

6. "I pay no regard," he answered, "to Plato, or Pythagoras, or any one else who holds such opinions, but that the truth is so you may learn from hence. The soul either is life or receives life. If it is life, it would cause something else to live and not itself, as motion is the source of moving to something extraneous rather than to itself; now that the soul lives, no one will deny; and if it does live, it lives not as being itself life, but as partaking of life; but that which

Plato and the Philosophers knew not this.

in the 45th section of this dialogue. "Some shall indeed be sent into the judgment and condemnation of the eternal fire to be tormented," and in other parts of his writings—"but to shew that souls do not exist of themselves, but of the will of God, who if He pleased could reduce them again to nothing, of which He first created them." Otto in loc.

JUST. MART. partakes is different from that of which it does partake. The soul partakes of life, since God wills it to live; and hence it will cease to have life whenever He may please that it shall live no longer, for it is not the property of the soul to have life in itself as it is the property of God, but as man exists not for ever, nor is his body always united to his soul; but whenever it is expedient that this conjunction should be dissolved, the soul leaves the body, and the man exists no longer; so also when the soul is to live no more, the spirit of life is taken from it, and the soul exists no more, but itself returns again to whence it came."

Truth taught only by the Prophets.

7. "Whom then," I asked, "shall a man take as his master, or whence shall he derive any instruction, if the truth is not with these philosophers?"

"There once lived men," he replied, "called Prophets, who were anterior to any of those who are considered philosophers, and who were blessed, just, and beloved by God. These spoke by the Holy Ghost, and foretold what should happen thereafter, and what is now taking place. And they alone knew and taught the truth, neither regarding nor fearing any man, nor being themselves carried away by the love of glory, but declaring those things alone which they saw and heard when filled with the Holy Ghost. And their writings still remain to us, and whoever reads them will derive much instruction about the first principles and the end of things, together with all that a philosopher ought to know when he believes them. They have not indeed given demonstrations in their writings, for they are in fact above all demonstration as faithful witnesses of the truth; but the events that have happened already, and those which are taking place even now, compel you to receive their testimony. Even indeed for the miracles which they performed are they worthy of our belief, and especially since they glorified God the Father and Maker of all things, and taught of Christ His Son, Who was sent by Him, which the false prophets who were filled with a spirit of falsehood and uncleanness neither did nor do; but these presume to perform certain [1] wonders to astonish mankind, and set forth the praises of lying spirits and devils. But do you above all things pray that the gates of light may be opened

[1] δυνάμεις

to you; for these things are not to be seen or comprehended, except by him to whom God and His Christ give the grace of understanding."

Justin's desire to know more.

8. When he had said this, and much more which we have not now time to repeat, he left me, bidding me attend to what he had said, and I saw him no more.

But a flame was immediately kindled in my mind, and I was seized with an ardent love of the Prophets, and of those men who are the friends of Christ; and reflecting with myself on what I had heard, I saw that theirs was the only sure and valuable philosophy: thus it was that I became a Philosopher, and I could wish that all men were of the same mind as myself, not to turn from the doctrines of the Saviour; for they inspire a certain dread, and possess a power to overawe those who are turned from the right way; but they become the most pleasant resting-place to such as fully practise them. If therefore you have any regard for your own welfare, and desire of salvation, and trust in God, you may now have an opportunity, if you are not averse to the task, of attaining happiness by knowledge of the Christ of God, and by being made a perfect [1]disciple[n]. At these words, my dearest Pompey, Trypho's companions laughed aloud, and he himself smiled. "I approve," he answered, "the rest of what you have said, and I much admire your zeal of obtaining Divine knowledge; but it were better for you to follow Plato or any other philosopher, and live in the practice of fortitude, self-control, and moderation, than to suffer yourself to be led away by lying doctrines, and to listen to worthless teachers; for whilst you pursued that school of philosophy and lived unblameably, there was some hope of your attaining a better state. But now that you have deserted God and based your hopes on man, what means of salvation are left for you? If you will therefore listen to me, (for I already regard you as a friend,) first be circumcised, and then, as commanded, observe the Sabbath, and the feasts, and the

[1] τελείῳ γενομένῳ

[n] It has been doubted whether S. Justin means by these words Baptism, which, like martyrdom, was expressed by the word τελείωσις; or only general perfection of life. We may perhaps say with Otto that he meant the former, but so that the latter might also be understood in it.

JUST. MART. new moons of God, with all that is written in the Law, in which case you may perhaps find mercy with Him. But as for Christ, if He be born and is to be found any where, He is both unknown to others, and He knows not Himself, nor has He any power until Elias comes to anoint and proclaim Him to all. But you Christians have all received an idle report, and have formed a Christ for yourselves, for whose sake you inconsiderately throw away your lives."

Christians not lightly credulous.

9. "You are excusable, man!" I replied, "and may it be forgiven you; for you speak you know not what, but you follow your teachers, who understand not the Scriptures, and utter at random whatever comes into your mind. If you will receive proof that we have not been deluded, and shall not cease to confess Christ, even though we thereby incur the reproaches of men, and the most cruel tyrant should endeavour to compel us to renounce Him, I will prove to you, where you stand, that we do not confide in baseless fables nor in empty words, but in doctrines which are full of Divine Spirit, and overflowing with power, and abounding in grace."

On this Trypho's companions laughed again, and exclaimed in so disorderly a way, that I rose from my seat, and was on the point of leaving them; but Trypho seized my gown, and said he would not let me go until I had performed my promise.

"Then do not permit your companions," I answered, "to create this disturbance, and conduct themselves so improperly; but either let them listen in silence, or leave us if they have business of more importance, whilst we ourselves will go and sit down where we may continue our discourse." To this proposal Trypho consented; whereupon we agreed to go aside, and came to the middle stadium of the Xystus, where two of his followers left us, laughing at our earnestness. For ourselves, when we reached the spot where there were some stone seats on each side, Trypho and his companions held some conversation about the war that had been recently carried on against Judea, and to which one of them had chanced to make allusion.

Trypho's objections of the Law.

10. When they had finished their observations, I thus resumed, "Is there any other objection which you have to make

to us, Sirs, than this; that we do not live according to the Law, nor circumcise the flesh like your fathers, nor keep the sabbaths like yourselves? or, do you also object to our lives and manners? What I mean is, do you believe of us, like others, that we devour men, and when we meet together after our banquet put out the lights, and wallow in promiscuous concubinage[o]; or do you only blame us for adhering to doctrines and opinions which are as you think void of truth?" DIAL. TRYPH.

"It is this last which surprises me," replied Trypho; "for as to those other accusations which so many urge against you, I do not think them worthy of credit, as they are too revolting to human nature; but the precepts in what you term your Gospel, and which I happen to have read, are so great and admirable, as in my opinion to be beyond the power of any one to observe them. But it is this that chiefly perplexes us, that you who make a profession of piety, and consider yourselves better than others, do in no respect excel the heathen in your lives; for you do not keep the feasts nor observe the sabbaths, nor practise circumcision, but you put your trust in a mere crucified man, and still, though neglecting God's commandments, hope to obtain good from Him. Have you not read, *The soul that is not circumcised on the eighth day shall be cut off from his people?* a command which is similarly enjoined as to the stranger, and to him who is bought for money. This covenant you hold in contempt, and yet endeavour to persuade us that you know God, though you perform none of those duties which they who fear Him do. If therefore you have any reply to make, and can shew us on what you base your hopes, since you do not keep the Gen. 17, 14.

[o] These, as is well known, were accusations brought by their enemies against the early Christians, and St. Justin alludes to them in his Apologies. In the first Apology, cap. 26. he mentions them in connection with the followers of Simon Magus, or Gnostics, "who," he says, "are falsely called Christians. Whether *they* commit such atrocious and fabulous deeds I know not." vol. i. §. 26. p. 194. Otto. In his second Apology, cap. 12. he more especially vindicates Christians from such charges, and shews that they are rather true of certain heathen customs. The same accusations are alluded to by those who lived immediately after St. Justin; Tertullian, Apol. i. 7. Origen cont. Cels. vi. 27. ed. de la Rue, and others. This arose no doubt, as Semisch observes, "from the nightly meetings and agapæ of the Christians; from misunderstood expressions of 'eating the flesh' and 'drinking the blood of Christ' at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and lastly, from an erroneous interpretation of the terms *brethren* and *sisters*, which the Christians applied to one another." vol. ii. p. 9.

JUST. MART. Law, we will gladly hear you, and we can then in the same manner investigate the other points between us."

A new covenant promised to supersede the Law.

11. "There never will be any other God, Trypho, nor has there ever been any from eternity," I said, "but the One Who created and ordered every thing that we see; nor do we hold your God to be one and our own to be another, but we acknowledge one and the same, even Him Who brought up your forefathers from the land of Egypt with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm, nor do we put our trust in any other—for there is no other—but only in Him Whom you also adore, The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Our hope is, however, not through Moses, nor through the Law, or there would be no difference between you and ourselves; but I have read that there should hereafter be a final law, and a covenant more mighty than all others, which every one who hopes for the inheritance of God should henceforth observe. The law given at Horeb has become obsolete, and was for you Jews only, but the one of which I speak is for all men alike. A new law passed upon a law abrogates that which is old, and in like manner does a subsequent covenant annul a former one. An everlasting and perfect law, and a faithful covenant, is given to us, even Christ, after which there shall be no other law, or ordinance, or command. Have you not read what Esaias says, *Hearken unto me, my people, and give ear unto me, O ye kings: for a law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgment to rest for a light of the people. My righteousness draweth nigh quickly, and My salvation shall come forth, and in Mine arm shall the Gentiles trust.* Of this new covenant God speaks thus by Jeremiah; *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt.* If God therefore did foretel that He would make a new covenant, and that, one which should be for a light of the Gentiles, and we see and are sure, that through the name of this Jesus Christ Who was crucified, men have turned to God from idolatry

Is. 51, 1—4.

Jerem. E.V.31, 31. 32. Sept.38, 31.

and other wickedness, and have maintained their confession and kept their practice even to death, all may perceive, even from these works and the accompanying signs, that He is in truth that new law and that new covenant, and the expectation of those who, from all nations, have awaited the blessings of God. For we who have been brought to God through this Christ Who was crucified, are the true spiritual Israel, and the race of Judah, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham, who in uncircumcision received a testimony and a blessing from God for his faith, and was named the father of many nations; as shall be proved in the remainder of my discourse. DIAL. TRYPH.

12. "I added, moreover, another passage from Isaiah, in which he exclaims, *Hear my words, and your soul shall live, and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given Him for a witness to the people; behold, nations that know thee not shall call upon thee, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee.* Jews hold the letter against the new law. Isa. 55, 3. 4. 5.

"This very law you have despised, and His new and holy covenant have you set at nought, and even now you receive it not, nor do you repent of your evil deeds, for still *your ears are stopped, and your eyes are blinded, and your heart is waxed gross.* And Jeremiah has cried, but you have not listened to him. The Lawgiver is come, but you discern Him not; *the poor have the Gospel preached to them, the blind see,* but you understand not. You need a second circumcision, and yet you think much of that of the flesh. The new law commands you to keep a perpetual Sabbath, and you rest on one day and think that you are religious, not considering why that commandment was given you. Again, if you eat unleavened bread, you say that you have fulfilled the will of God; but it is not by such means that the Lord our God is pleased. If any one of you is guilty of perjury or theft, let him sin no more. If any be an adulterer, let him repent, and then he will have kept a true and pleasant sabbath of God. If any has unclean hands, let him wash, and he will be pure[P]. Isa. 6, 10. Mat. 11, 5. Luke 7, 22.

[P] Thirlby supposes that homicides are here alluded to by St. Justin.

JUST. MART. Isaiah teaches remission through Christ's blood.

13. "For it was not, surely, to the bath that Isaiah sent you to wash away murder, and those other sins from which not all the waters of the sea can cleanse you; but, as one would think, there was of old that very washing of salvation which he spoke of, namely, that which is for those who repent; and who are no longer purified by the blood of goats and sheep, or by the ashes of a heifer, or by the offerings of fine flour, but by faith, through the blood and the death of Christ, Who died for this very purpose, as Isaiah teaches you, saying, *The Lord will make bare His holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the nations and the ends of the earth shall see the salvation that is from God. Depart ye, depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing. Go ye out of the midst of her; be ye separated, that bear the vessels of the Lord: because ye go not with disorder and confusion; for the Lord will go before you, and the Lord God of Israel is He that will gather you together, Behold, my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted, and shall be glorified greatly. As many shall be astonished at Thee, so Thy form and comeliness shall be despised by men: thus many nations shall wonder at Him, and kings shall shut their mouths; because they, who have not been told any thing concerning Him, shall see; and they which have not heard shall understand. Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared before Him as an infant, as a root in a dry ground. He hath no form nor comeliness; we have seen Him; and He hath neither form nor beauty; but His form is more inglorious and despicable than any of the sons of men. He is a man exposed to stripes, and knows how to bear infirmities; because His face was turned away, He was despised and esteemed not. He bears our iniquities, and endures pains upon our account; and we did esteem Him to be in pain, and under the stroke, and in affliction. But He was wounded for our transgressions, and was punished for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him; with His stripes are we healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; man has turned aside to his own way: and the Lord hath delivered Him up for our iniquities; and He, because of His afflictions, does not open His mouth; He is*

Isa. 52, 10; 53. 54, 7.

brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so He opens not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away. But who shall declare His generation? because His life is taken from the earth; through the iniquities of my people is He come to death. And I will give the wicked for[1] *His burial, and the rich for His death; because He hath done no iniquity, neither was any deceit found in His mouth. And it pleased the Lord to purify Him by stripes. If He shall be made an offering for sin, your soul shall see the life of His seed prolonged; and the Lord will lessen the travail of His soul, will shew Him light, and will give Him knowledge, to justify the righteous one who well serveth many; and He Himself shall bear our iniquities: therefore He shall possess many, and divide the spoil of the strong; because His soul was delivered up unto death; and He was numbered with the transgressors; and He hath borne the sins of many, and was delivered for their transgressions. Rejoice, O barren, thou that dost not bear; break forth, and cry aloud, thou that dost not travail with child; for more are the children of the desolate, than of her that hath the husband. For the Lord said, Enlarge the place of thy tent, and of thy curtains; pitch, spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes, break forth on the right hand and on the left: and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and thou shalt inhabit the desolate cities. Fear not, because thou hast been ashamed; neither be thou confounded because thou hast been reproached: for thou shalt forget thine everlasting shame, and thou shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood: because the Lord hath gotten to Himself a name; and thy Redeemer the God of Israel shall be called for the whole earth. For the Lord hath called thee as a woman forsaken and faint in spirit; as a woman hated from her youth.*

[1] ἀντὶ

DIAL. TRYPH.

14. "Through the baptism of repentance and knowledge of God, therefore, which was instituted for the sins of the people, as Isaiah says, we have believed, and we know that the same baptism which he preached, and which is alone able to cleanse those who repent, is the water of life. But the cisterns which you have digged for yourselves are broken cisterns, and unable to be of any use to you; for

True purification by conversion and baptism.

Just. Mart. what profit is there in that baptism which cleanses the flesh and the body alone? Let your souls be washed from anger and from covetousness, from envy, from hatred, and the
1 Cor. 5, 8. whole body will then be pure; and this is the signification of unleavened bread, namely, that you should abstain from the old works of the evil leaven; you however receive every thing in a carnal sense, and think it to be serving God if you do such works, whilst your souls are filled with deceitfulness, and every kind of evil. Hence, after the seven days of unleavened bread, God commanded you to prepare new leaven for yourselves, that is, the practice of new works, and not the imitation of your former evil ones. And to prove that this is what your new Lawgiver enjoins you, I will cite again the passages which I produced before, with a few others which I then omitted. Isaiah then speaks
Is. 55, 3 to end. thus; *Hearken unto me, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, the holy and faithful mercies of David. Behold, I have given Him for a witness to the nations, a leader and commander to the nations. The nations which knew not thee shall call upon thee, and the people which know not thee shall run unto thee, because of thy God, the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee. Seek ye God, and when ye find Him, call upon Him while He is near. Let the wicked man forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; because He will abundantly pardon your sins. For My thoughts are not as your thoughts, nor My ways as your ways. For as far as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth, and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth: it shall not return until it shall have accomplished that which I please, and I will prosper the thing whereto I send it. For ye shall go out with gladness, and be taught with joy. For the mountains and the hills shall leap for joy when they look for you, and all the trees of the field shall applaud you with their branches. Instead of the thorny*

weed shall come up the cypress-tree, and instead of the nettle shall come up the myrtle-tree. And the Lord shall be for a name, and for an everlasting sign, and He shall not fail. These and other similar passages of the Prophets refer, I said, in part, to the first Advent of Christ, in which He was foretold as about to come in ingloriousness, obscurity, and mortality; and in part to His second Advent, when He shall appear in glory, and on the clouds of heaven; then shall your nation look on and acknowledge Him Whom they pierced, as Hosea[1], one of the twelve Prophets, and Daniel have foretold.

[1] Zacha-riah. Dan. 7, 13.

15. "Learn, therefore, also to keep God's true fast, that you may please God, as Isaiah thus commands you. *Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew My people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. They seek Me daily, and desire to know My ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of Me the ordinance of justice, they desire to draw near to God, saying, Wherefore have we fasted, and Thou sawest not? wherefore have we afflicted our souls, and Thou takest no knowledge? For in the days of your fasts ye find all your pleasures, and exact all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and smite the afflicted with your fists. Why do ye fast to Me, as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high? It is not such a fast as I have chosen; a day for a man to afflict his soul. Neither if thou bend thy neck as a circle, and spread sackcloth and ashes under thee; neither then shalt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord. I have not chosen such a fast, saith the Lord. But loose every band of wickedness, undo the bonds of agreements made by violence, let the oppressed go free, and tear in pieces every unjust bond. Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor that are cast out into thy house: if thou seest one naked, cover him; and thou shalt not despise those of thine own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy garments*[q] *shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall surround*

The true fasting. Is. 58, 1—12.

[q] ἰμάτια, for ἰάματα, *healings*. Thus the early Latin Fathers read *Vesti-menta*, which is explained of the Resurrection. *Ben.*

JUST. MART. *thee. Then shalt thou call, and God shall answer; and whilst thou art yet speaking, He shall say, Behold, here I am. If thou shalt take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the stretching forth of the hands, and the words of murmuring; and willingly givest thy bread to the hungry, and satisfiest the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And thy God shall be with thee continually, and thou shalt be satisfied as thy soul desireth, and thy bones shall be made fat, and they shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, or like a land whose water fails not.* Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your hearts, as the word of God in all these words commands you.

Circumcision given for a mark. Deut. 10, 16. 17. Lev. 26, 40. 41.

16. "For God Himself has thus proclaimed aloud by Moses; *Circumcise therefore the hardness of your hearts, and be no more stiff-necked. For the Lord your God, even He is Lord of lords, a mighty and a terrible God, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward.* And in Leviticus; *Because they have trespassed against Me and despised Me, and because they have walked crookedly contrary to Me, I have also walked crookedly contrary unto them. And I will destroy them in the land of their enemies, then will their uncircumcised hearts be ashamed.* For the fleshly circumcision which you derive from Abraham was given you as a mark by which you may be separated from other nations and from us, and that you alone might suffer the inflictions which are now justly laid on you, and that your country might lie desolate, and your cities destroyed by fire, your fruits consumed before your eyes by strangers, and none of you yourselves permitted to enter Jerusalem[r]. For by fleshly circumcision alone can you be distinguished from other men; nor will

[r] It was in the war which Bar-Cochebas stirred up in Syria, that Jerusalem was taken by Hadrian A.D. 135, and that the above prohibition was issued against any Jew entering the city. At a somewhat later period, they were allowed to take a view of it once a year for the space of an hour on the day of its capture by Titus, (the 10th of August,) but nothing further was permitted them, unless they purchased it at a stated price. Tertullian informs us, that the prohibition extended also to Bethlehem. Act. Jud. cap. 13. Even its name was changed to Ælia in honour of the emperor, under which appellation it is mentioned in the Council of Nice, the Bishop having rank next to the Metropolitan. Canon 7. After the time of Constantine, however, the ancient name of Jerusalem was gradually reassumed, under which title the Council of Chalcedon erected it into a separate Patriarchate, with the three Palestines for its jurisdiction. Beveridge, Pandect. vol. ii. on 7th Council of Nice. Dr. Burton's History, vol. ii. p. 86.

any of you I suppose venture to deny, that God both was and is acquainted with the future, and that He prepares for every one a portion according to his deserts. Hence the above afflictions were rightly and justly laid upon you, for you have slain the Just One, and His prophets before Him, and now those who trust in Him; and the Almighty God, the Creator of all, Who sent Him, you set at nought, and, as far as you are able, clothe with dishonour, heaping curses in your synagogues on those who put their trust in Christ[s]. For you have not actual power to destroy us: from this you are restrained by those in authority, though as often as you have been able you have proceeded even to this extremity. Hence God cries thus in your ears through His Prophet Isaiah, *Behold, the righteous perisheth, and no man considereth. For the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. His burial shall be in peace, he is taken from among us. But draw hither, ye wicked sons, ye seed of the adulterers and children of the whore. Against whom do ye sport yourselves? and upon whom did ye make a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue?* DIAL. TRYPH. Is. 57, 1—4.

17. "Other nations, in fact, are not equally guilty with you of this injustice, which is committed toward us and toward Christ; for you are the authors of that evil opinion which they entertain of the Just One, and of us His followers; for when you had crucified Him, the only blameless and Just One, by whose stripes all who come to the Father through Him are healed, and when you knew that He had risen from the dead and gone up into heaven, as the Prophets had foretold, not only did you feel no repentance for your crimes[1], but you even sent chosen men from Jerusalem to all countries, to say that a godless heresy, termed the Christian, had lately sprung up, adding those other calumnies against us, which all who know us not are accustomed to repeat[t]. So that you are not only a cause of wrong Calumnies spread by the Jews. Is. 53, 5. John 14, 6. [1] Quoted by Eus. Hist. iv. 18.

[s] St. Epiphanius, Hær. 1. §. 9. and St. Jerome on Isaiah lii. 5. informs us, that the Jews were accustomed solemnly to curse the Christians three times a day. And Otto tells us, that they still continue to do the same, p. 57. note 10.

[t] Thirlby quotes another passage from Eusebius referring to this. "I have discovered in the writings of the ancients, that the priests and elders of the Jews who dwelt at Jerusalem wrote letters, and sent them into all nations, every where slandering to the Jews the doctrine of Christ as a new and godless heresy, and charging them by their apostles not to receive it; with which

Just. Mart. doing to yourselves, but to all others as well. Justly therefore does Isaiah cry out, *Through your means My name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.* And again, *Woe unto their souls; for they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying, Let us bind the righteous, because he is unprofitable to us: therefore they eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked: evil shall happen to him, according to the works of his hands.* And again in another place, *Woe unto them that draw sin as with a long cord, and iniquities as it were with a cart-rope; that say, Let His speediness approach, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel come, that we may know it. Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put light for darkness, and darkness for light; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.* So that you have laboured throughout the whole world to cause all dark, bitter, and untrue accusations to be laid to the charge of [1] φωτὸς that only blameless and just Light[n], Who was sent to us from God; for you thought Him unprofitable, when He cried out, *My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.*

Is.52,5. and 3, 9—11. Is. 3, 9—11. Is. 5, 18—20. Mat.21, 13. Luke19, 46.

"He also overthrew the tables of the money-changers in the temple, and said, *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye tithe mint and rue, and never think of the love of God, and judgment. Ye whited sepulchres, which without appear beautiful, but within are full of dead bones.* And to the Scribes, *Woe unto you, Scribes, for you have the keys; and ye enter not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hinder—blind guides.*

Mat.23, 23. Luke11, 43. Luke11, 52. Mat.23, 16. 24.

Why Christians keep not the Law. Is. 1, 16.

18. "For since you confess, Trypho, that you have read the precepts taught by Him, the Saviour Whom we acknowledge, I think it not out of place that I have added a few of His more brief sayings to the words of the Prophets; *Wash you, make you clean; even now, put away the evil of your doings*

letters these apostles passed through every country, calumniating the doctrine of our Saviour. It is the custom with the Jews, even at this time, to term those who bring Enclyclical letters from their rulers, Apostles." Euseb. on Isaiah xviii. 1. Otto, vol. ii. p. 60. note 6.

[n] The same word φωτός, here applied by St. Justin to our Lord, is used by Him of Himself. St. John viii. 12. *I am the Light of the world.* ix. 5. *As long as I am in the world, I am the Light of the world;* and xii. 46, &c. The accusations above alluded to are supposed by the Benedictine Editor to be those mentioned in §. 10.

from your souls. God thus commands you to wash in this laver, and to be circumcised with the true circumcision. For we also should practise your circumcision of the flesh, and should keep the sabbaths, and, in a word, all the feasts, did we not know for what cause they were enjoined you, namely, for your sins, and the hardness of your hearts. For if we endure to undergo all that is inflicted on us by wicked men and by evil spirits, and yet, in the midst of our indescribable modes of death and tortures, pray that they who so torment us may obtain mercy, and, according to the commandment of the new Lawgiver, would requite none of them any the least thing in return; why, Trypho, should we refuse to observe such rites as would do us no injury, such as fleshly circumcision, and keeping of the sabbaths, and festivals? DIAL. TRYPH.

19. "It is this indeed which you might well seek to find out—why we should consent to undergo such persecutions as we do, and yet should not observe all the other things now in question. Origin of Circumcision, and of the Law.

"It is because circumcision is not necessary for all, but only for you Jews, that, as I said before, you might undergo your present justly merited sufferings. Nor do we receive your useless baptism of cisterns, for such bears no relation to the Baptism of life[x]; so that God declares that you have *forsaken* Him, *the fountain of living waters, and hewed you out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.* You who are circumcised in the flesh, require our circumcision; whilst we who possess this, have no need of yours. Jerem. 2, 14.

"For had circumcision been absolutely necessary, God would not have created Adam without it; nor would He have regarded the sacrifice of Abel, which he offered in uncircumcision, nor would Enoch have been pleasing in His sight in uncircumcision, so that *He was not found, for God took him.* Lot was saved without circumcision, the Angels and the Lord Himself leading him out of Sodom. Noah, the father of man, being in uncircumcision, entered with his children into the ark. Melchisedec, the priest of the Most High, was uncircumcised, to whom Abraham, the Gen. 5, 24.

[x] On the Jews' baptism of Proselytes and Infants, see Introduction to Wall's Infant Baptism.

JUST. MART. Ps. 110, 4. first who received circumcision, gave tithes, and was blessed by him, according to whose order God declared by David that He would make a Priest for ever. To you only then is circumcision necessary; that, as the prophet Hosea, one Ps. 1, 9. of the twelve, says, *Thy people should not be a people, and the nation not a nation.* All these were just men, and righteous in the sight of God, without even keeping the sabbath, as after them were Abraham and his posterity down to the time of Moses, when your nation was sinful and unthankful towards God, making a golden calf in the wilderness, whence God, in condescension to that people's infirmity, commanded you, to prevent your committing idolatry, to offer sacrifice to His Name alone, which you obeyed not, but offered even your children to devils. He moreover enjoined on you the observance of the Sabbath, that you might remember God; as His own words declare, Ezek. 20, 12. 20. saying, *That ye may know that I am God your Saviour.*

Reason of the law of meats. 20. "And lastly, He directed you to abstain from certain kinds of flesh, that when you ate and drank, you might still have God before your eyes[y]: for you have ever been prone to depart from the knowledge of Him, as Moses also says, Exod. 32, 6. Deut. 32, 15. *The people ate and drank, and rose up to play;* and again, *Jacob ate and was filled, and* [z]*waxed fat; and my beloved kicked, he waxed fat, and grew thick and broad, and forsook the God Who made him.* But that God permitted Noah, being a just man, to eat every kind of flesh, except that with the blood, which dies of itself[a], is recorded for you by Moses in the book of Genesis."

Gen. 9, 3. And as Trypho was about to add, "*as the green herb,*" I anticipated him, saying, "why do you not receive that expression, *as the green herb,* as God spoke it, that as He gave the herbs to man for good, so He gave him also the living creatures, that he might eat flesh; but since we do not eat some kinds of herbs, you assert that Noah was commanded

[y] Ben. cites Clem. Al. Pæd. i. c. 1. p. 149. Tert. 2. against Marcion, c. 19. Novatian de Cib. c. 4. Const. Ap. vi. 20. and defends S. Justin's opinion against the objections of Spencer de Leg. Heb. t. 1. p. 265.

[z] Ἐλιπάνθη. "This word is not found here in the LXX, but St. Chrysostom cites the passage in the same manner as St. Justin in his first Homily to the Jews." (Tom. i. p. 386. A. 2 Ducæus,) Benedictine note.

[a] νεκριμαῖον. Vid. Schleusner in verb.

even then to make a distinction. This explanation however cannot be received. Now that every vegetable is a herb and may be eaten, I could easily prove, nor is it worth while to spend time upon the question. But if we distinguish between some kinds of them, and do not make use of all alike, it is not because some are common or unclean, but because they are bitter to the taste, or poisonous, or prickly; but every sweet and wholesome one we enjoy and partake of, whether growing by sea or by land. God then commanded you by Moses to abstain from all animals that are unclean, and injurious, and outrageous[1]; for when you had eaten manna in the wilderness, and had seen all the marvellous works which God did for you, you made a golden calf, and worshipped it. So that He ever justly says of you, *foolish children, in whom there is no faith.*

DIAL. TRYPH.

[1] παρανόμων.

Deut. 32, 20.

21. "And it was for your sins, and for the sins of your fathers, as I said before, that God required you for a sign to observe the sabbaths, and laid His other commandments on you, as I said before; He also signifies, that it was for the sake of the Gentiles, that His name might not be profaned among them, that He permitted a remnant of you to remain to this day; as His own words may clearly prove to you. He says thus by Ezekiel; *I am the Lord your God: walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and be not mingled with the customs of the Egyptians, and hallow my sabbaths; and it shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God. And ye provoked me to anger, and your children walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments to do them; which if a man do, he shall even live in them. But they polluted my sabbaths; and I said, I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness, to accomplish my anger against them: and I did it not, that my name might not be entirely polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth: I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries, because they had not executed my judgments, and had despised my statutes, and had polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' inventions. And I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments*

Institution of the sabbath.

JUST. MART. *whereby they shall not live: and I will pollute them in their own gifts, when I shall pass over to destroy all that openeth the womb.*

The sacrifices and oblations.

22. "Further, that it was for the sins of your nation and their idolatries, and not because He had any need of such sacrifices, that God commanded you to do these things, hear what is spoken by Amos, one of the twelve Prophets, crying, *Woe unto them that desire the day of the Lord: to what end is this day of the Lord for you? it is darkness, and not light. As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; and if he sprang into his house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of the Lord be darkness, and not light, even very dark, and no brightness in it for them? I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though you offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them, neither will I regard the shew of your peace offerings. Take away from me the multitude of thy songs and psalms; for I will not hear thy viols. And judgment shall run down as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream. Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness, O house of Israel? saith the Lord. But ye have borne the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Raphan, figures which ye made to yourselves; and I will cause you to be carried away beyond Damascus, saith the Lord, Whose name is God Almighty. Woe unto them that live delicately and are at ease in Sion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria. They which are named after the chiefs have made harvest of the rulers of the nations; the house of Israel came in unto themselves. Pass ye all unto Calneh, and see: from thence go ye to Hemath the great; and then go down to Gath of the Philistines; to the best of all these kingdoms, if their borders be greater than your borders. They that come to the evil day, they that come near, and arrive at the false sabbaths; that sleep upon beds of ivory, and fare sumptuously upon their couches; that eat the lambs of the flock, and the sucking calves out of the midst of the stalls; that rejoice at the sound of the viols. They thought those things were to continue, and not to be carried away; they that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the*

Amos 5, 18 to end; 6, 1 to 8.

chief ointments, and have not grieved for the affliction of DIAL. *Joseph. Therefore now shall they be the first to go captive with* TRYPH. *the chief of the nobles that are going captive, and the dwelling place of the wicked shall be removed, and the neighing of horses shall be taken away from Ephraim.* And again Jer. 7, by Jeremiah, *Gather together your flesh and your sacri-* 21, 22. *fices, and eat. For I commanded not your fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices.* And again by David in the forty-ninth Psalm, *The God of gods,* Ps. 50. *the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof. Out of Sion, the perfection of His beauty, God shall come openly, even our God, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall devour before Him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about Him. He shall call the heaven from above, and the earth, that He may judge His people. Gather His saints together unto Him, those that have made a covenant with Him with sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare His righteousness: for God is Judge. Hear, O My people, and I will speak to thee O Israel, and I will testify unto thee: I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices; but thy burnt offerings are continually before Me. I will take no calves out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds. For every beast of the field is Mine, the cattle upon the hills, and the bullocks. I know all the fowls of Heaven, and the beauty of the field is with Me. If I be hungry, I will not tell thee, for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon Me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me. But unto the sinner, God saith, What hast thou to do to declare My statutes, and to take My covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest My words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief, thou didst run along with him; and didst cast in thy portion with the adulterer. Thy mouth hath abounded with evil, and thy tongue hath framed deceit. Thou didst sit and speak against thy brother, and didst set a stumbling-block against thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I*

JUST. MART. *kept silence: thou didst imagine wickedness, that I shall be such a one as thyself. I will reprove thee, and will set thy sins in order before thine eyes. Now consider these things, ye that forget God; lest He snatch you away, and there be none to deliver you. The sacrifice of praise will honour Me, and there is the way by which I will shew him My salvation.*

"He receives not your sacrifices then, nor did He command you to offer them at first as standing in need of them, but on account of your sins. The Temple too, as you call it, in Jerusalem, He did not condescend to term His house or court, as if He needed either, but that you even by thus cleaving to *Him* might avoid idolatry. This appears by the words of Isaiah, *What house have ye built Me? saith the Lord: the Heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool.*

Isa. 66, 1.

The Jews' notion dishonours God.

23. "If we will not acknowledge this, we must necessarily fall into notions that cannot be admitted: either that there was not the same God in the days of Enoch and all the rest, who did not practise circumcision according to the flesh and keep the Sabbaths, and those other rites and ceremonies which are enjoined by the law of Moses, or that He did not care that all mankind should always perform the same righteous acts; which suppositions are absurd and ridiculous. We must therefore confess that it was for the sake of sinful men, that He, Who is always the same, commanded the same things to be observed, and can pronounce Him to be friendly to man, possessed of foreknowledge, needing nothing, just and good. If this be not so, tell me, Sirs, what are your opinions on the subject?" When none of them made any reply, I continued, "I will then repeat to you, Trypho, and to those who wish to become proselytes, that divine doctrine which I myself heard from the man of whom I spoke[b]. Do you not see that the elements stay not working, nor do they keep any sabbaths? Remain as you were born; for if before Abraham circumcision was not needful, nor sabbaths, feasts, and sacrifices, before Moses, neither are they so now, when

[b] St. Justin plainly refers to the person whom he had met by the seaside, and who converted him to Christianity, as related in sections 3—8. Ben. takes 'proselytes' in the sense of *Christian* proselytes, but it may be meant of those who were hearers of Trypho, and might therefore be supposed to intend to receive circumcision, and become *Jewish* proselytes. See p. 103, note g.

according to the will of God, Jesus Christ His Son has been born without sin of the Virgin Mary, who was of the race of Abraham. For Abraham himself too was justified, and received a blessing from God, for the faith which he had being yet in uncircumcision, as the Scripture says; but circumcision was given to him for a sign of righteousness, and not for righteousness itself, as both Scripture and the nature of the case compel us to believe. Hence it is justly said of your nation, *That soul shall be cut off from his people which is not circumcised on the eighth day.* And since women are incapable of receiving fleshly circumcision, we have a positive proof that it is given as a sign, and not as a work of righteousness. For God has made that sex capable of performing all the duties of justice and righteousness. We see indeed that the physical formation of the sexes is different, but we know that neither of them is righteous or unrighteous on that account, but in respect of the duties of holiness and virtue.

DIAL. TRYPH. cf. Rom. 4, 11. Gen. 17, 14.

24. "And, my friends," I continued, "it were in my power to prove that it was preached to us by God through these means, that the eighth day had in it some mystery rather than the seventh; but that I may not appear to wander to other subjects, understand me, I intreat, that the blood of the former circumcision is now done away, and that we trust to the Blood of the Saviour. Another Testament now, and a new law, has come out of Zion. Jesus Christ circumcises all who are willing with knives of stone[c], as was taught of old, that this may become a righteous nation; a nation keeping faith, laying hold on truth, and keeping peace. Come with me, all ye who fear God, and desire to behold the prosperity of Jerusalem. *Come, let us walk in the light of the Lord, for He hath released His people the house of Jacob.* Come all nations, let us be gathered together at that

Christian circumcision. Isa. 2, 5. 6.

[c] St. Justin explains his meaning at more length in §§. 113. and 114. As Moses circumcised the Israelites with the first circumcision, which was done by knives of iron, and Joshua circumcised them with a second circumcision by knives of stone; (Joshua v. 2. Septuagint version;) so are Christians circumcised with a second circumcision also, and by knives of stone; that is, with the precepts of Christ, Who is both called a stone, and is the Stone that was cut without hands, and by the preaching of His Apostles, by which those who were previously wandering about in error are circumcised in heart. This circumcision is shewn, by Joshua's typical imitation of it, to be intended by God to apply to the Jews, as well as to the followers of Christ.

JUST. MART. Is. 65, 1—3. Jerusalem, which is now no longer beset with wars for the sins of her people. As the Lord says by Isaiah, *I was made manifest to them that seek Me not, I was found of them that ask not after Me; I said, Behold Me, to nations which called not on My name: I have spread out My hands all the day to a rebellious and gainsaying people, which walketh in a way that is not good, but after their own sins; a people that provoketh Me to anger to My face.*

Jews not truly Abraham's children. Is. 63, 15 to end; and 64.

25. "They who justify themselves, and boast that they are the children of Abraham, hope to obtain even some small portion of the inheritance with you[d], as the Holy Ghost speaks by Isaiah in their name. *Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of Thy holiness and glory. Where is Thy zeal and Thy strength? Where is the multitude of Thy mercy, because Thou didst bear with us, O Lord? For Thou art our Father: for Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledgeth us not. But Thou, O Lord, our Father, deliver us; Thy name is from everlasting upon us; O Lord, why hast Thou made us to err from Thy way; and hardened our heart from Thy fear? Return, for Thy servants' sake, for the tribes of Thine inheritance, that we may possess a little of Thy holy mountain. We are become as we were at the beginning, when Thou didst not rule over us, and Thy name was not called upon us. If thou shouldest rend the heavens; fear shall seize the mountains from Thee, and they shall be melted away, as wax is melted at the fire: and the fire shall consume Thine enemies, and Thy name shall be made known to Thine adversaries; the nations shall be dismayed at Thy presence. When Thou shalt do glorious things, fear shall seize the mountains on account of Thee. From the beginning of the world we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen any God besides Thee, and Thy works, which Thou shalt do, even mercy to those that repent. He will meet them that work righteousness, and they shall remember Thy ways. Behold, Thou art wroth, and we have sinned. Wherefore we have been led astray, we are all become unclean, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. And we all do fall as leaves, by reason of our iniquities, so*

[d] Or 'with us,' as some conjecture. Gentiles.' See §. 23. But he may mean, 'with converted

the wind shall carry us away: and there is none that calleth on Thy name, none that remembereth to take hold of Thee: for Thou hast hid Thy face from us, and hast delivered us up, because of our iniquities. But now, O Lord, return, because we are all Thy people. The city of Thy sanctuary is become a wilderness; Sion is as a desert, Jerusalem is a curse. The house, our sanctuary, and the glory, which our fathers praised, are burnt with fire, and all our glorious customs[e] *are laid waste. And upon these things Thou hast refrained Thyself, O Lord, and hast held Thy peace, and hast humbled us very exceedingly.*" DIAL. TRYPH.

"What then," said Trypho, "do you mean that none of us shall inherit any thing in the holy mountain of God?"

26. "I say not that," I replied, "but that they who have persecuted Christ, and who persecute Him still, and repent not, shall have no part at all in the holy mountain; whilst the Gentiles, who believe in Him and repent of their sins, shall have their inheritance with the Patriarchs and Prophets, and all the righteous who are descended from Jacob; even though they observe not the sabbath, and are not circumcised, nor keep the feasts, they shall assuredly share in the holy inheritance of God: for God speaks thus by Isaiah; *I the Lord God have called thee in righteousness, and I will hold thine hand, and will strengthen thee. And I have given thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.* And again; *Lift up a standard for the people. For behold, the Lord hath made it to be heard unto the end of the world. Say ye to the daughters of Sion, Behold, thy Saviour cometh to thee, bringing His reward with Him, and His work before Him. And He shall call this the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord. And thou shalt be called a city sought out, and not forsaken. Who is this that cometh from Edom, the red dye of His garments is from Bosor? This that is glorious in His apparel, coming up in the greatness of His strength? I discourse righteousness, and the judgment of salvation. Where-* Salvation to Jews and Gentiles through Christ. Is. 42, 6 7. Is. 62, 10 to end; and 63, 1–7.

[e] Reading ἔθη. The word is not in the LXX, leaving the sense '*glorious things.*' The Mss. have ἔθνη. "*All the nations have rushed together, glorious;*" i. e. have taken the glory for their own that was ours.

JUST. MART. *fore is thine apparel red, and thy garments as from a trodden wine-press? Full of the trodden grape, I have trodden the wine-press all alone, and of the people there was not a man with me. And I have trampled them in my fury, and I have bruised them as the earth, and I have shed their blood upon the earth. For the day of vengeance is come upon them, and the year of redemption is at hand. And I looked, and there was none to help; and I considered, and there was none to assist: and mine arm brought salvation unto me, and my fury was instant to me; and I have trodden them in mine anger, and I have shed their blood upon the earth.*"

Why the Prophets insist on the Law.

27. Then Trypho replied, "Why do you in your citations from the Prophets select only such passages as suit your purpose, and make no mention of those which plainly command the observance of the sabbath? for it is thus spoken by Esaias; *If thou shalt turn away thy foot from the sabbath,* Is. 58, 13. 14. *from doing thy pleasure on My holy day, and shall call the sabbath a delight, the holy of thy God; if thou shalt not move thy foot to thine own work, and shalt not speak a word out of thy mouth, and shalt trust in the Lord; then He shall lift thee up to the good things of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*"

"I did not omit these and other like passages of the Prophets," I replied, "as if they had made against me, my friends, but as you have perceived and now perceive, that even if God had commanded you by all these Prophets to do the same things as He also commanded by Moses, He always repeats the same things because of the hardness of your hearts, and your ingratitude to Him, that you might even thus if possible repent and please Him, and no more sacrifice your children to devils, nor make yourselves *the companions* Is. 1, 23. *of thieves, loving gifts, and following after rewards; judging not the fatherless, nor suffering the cause of the widow to come unto you,* nor *having your hands full of blood. For the* Is. 1, 15. Is. 3, 16. *daughters of Zion walked with stretched-forth necks, playing together with the twinkling of their eyes, and drawing their garments as they go.* And He cries, *They are all gone out of* Rom. 3, 12. 13. 16. 17. *the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that understandeth, no not one. With their tongues they have*

used deceit, their throats are an open sepulchre, the poison of asps is under their lips; destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known. So that as these commands were laid upon you at first for your sins, so because of your persistence in, or rather aggravation of them, God now calls you by a repetition of the same precepts to the remembrance and knowledge of Him. But you are a hard-hearted nation, foolish, blind, and lame, *children in whom is no faith.* As He says Himself, *Honouring Him only with your lips, while your hearts are far from Him; teaching your own doctrines, and not His.* Tell me again, did God desire that your high priests, who offered oblations on the sabbaths, or those who were circumcised themselves, and who circumcised others on that day, should commit sin? since He commanded that circumcision should certainly be practised on the eighth day, though that were the sabbath? Could He not have commanded it to be done, for any that should be born, the day before or the day after the sabbath, if He knew that it were wrong to do it on that day? or why did He not teach those who lived before Moses and Abraham to observe the same laws, who are termed just men, and pleasing to God, though they were not circumcised, and observed not the sabbaths?"

Dial. Tryph. Deut. 32, 20. Is. 29, 13. Numb. 28, 9. Matt. 12, 5. S. Iren. iv. §. 19.

28. Trypho then said, "We have listened to you before, when advancing the same facts, and have given you due attention; and, to speak the truth, it is a matter worthy of attention; nor am I satisfied[f] to say with the multitude, namely, that such was His pleasure, for this is always the common subterfuge of those who are unable to solve a question."

Justification through Christ.

"Since therefore I bring my arguments and exhortations from Scripture and from facts," said I, "do not delay nor hesitate to believe me, though I be uncircumcised; for the time left for your conversion[g] is short, and if Christ should anticipate you in His Advent, you will repent and weep in vain, for He will not hear you. *Break up your fallow ground,* cries Jeremiah to the people, *and*

Jer. 4, 3. 4.

[f] Such is evidently the meaning. The text is corrupt.

[g] προσηλύσεως, which rather favours the Christian sense of 'proselytes,' in §. 23. p. 98, note b.

JUST. MART. *sow not upon thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the uncircumcision of your heart.* Sow not therefore upon thorns and unploughed ground, whence you will reap no fruit; acknowledge Christ, and, lo, there shall be a fair fallow, fair and rich in your hearts. *For behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will visit all that have circumcised their foreskins; Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Moab: for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart.* Do you not perceive that God willeth not that circumcision which is given for a sign, for it profits not the Egyptians, nor the children of Moab and Edom[h]. But even if one were a Scythian or Persian, yet has the knowledge of God and His Christ, and keeps His everlasting commandments, he is circumcised with the good and profitable circumcision, and is pleasing to God, and He takes delight in his offerings and sacrifices. And now I will cite for you, my friends, the declarations even of God Himself, when He spoke to the people by Malachi, one of the twelve Prophets, as follows; *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord; neither will I accept your offerings at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, My Name hath been glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense and a pure offering has been offered unto My Name. For My Name is honoured among the Gentiles, saith the Lord, but ye profane it.* And by

Jer. 9, 25. 26.

Mal. 1, 10. 11.

[h] The Benedictine Editor refers to the Epistle of St. Barnabas, chapter 9. and Cotelerius' note on it. St. Barnabas says as follows, "You will say that 'the people'" (the Jews) "'were circumcised for a sign. But every Syrian and Arabian, and all the priests of the idolaters, [were circumcised] also. Are these then of His covenant? Moreover, the Egyptians are in circumcision.' Learn now, my children, of all things abundantly. Abraham, who first gave circumcision, looking on in spirit to his Son, circumcised .... of his household three hundred and eighteen men." The chief substance of Cotelerius' note on this passage, so far as it tends to the illustration of St. Justin, is as follows; "The Egyptians wished it to be believed that circumcision was first practised by themselves, and passed from them to the Jews; but we say, from the testimony of God and the Fathers, that circumcision was given by God to Abraham, and came to the rest of mankind through his sons, that is, through Isaac to the Jews and Samaritans, through Ishmael to the Ishmaelites, through the children of Keturah to the nations of the East, and through Esau or Edom to the Idumæans, and that from these the neighbouring nations received it." The meaning of St. Justin, that it was of no use to the Egyptians, &c. is the same as that of St. Barnabas in the question, "Are they therefore of His covenant?" for these nations practise it of their own choice and pleasure, and not in the manner in which the Israelites did so, neither observing the eighth day, nor permitting it to all alike, but confining it to their priests and literati. Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, vol. i. p. 27. Amsterdam, 1724.

David He said, *A people which I knew not have served Me; in the hearing of the ear they have obeyed Me.* DIAL. TRYPH. Ps. 18, 43. 44.

29. "Let us Gentiles all meet and glorify God together, for He has visited us also. Let us glorify Him through the King of glory, the Lord of hosts: for He has shewn His good will towards the Gentiles also, and He receives sacrifices from us more readily than from you. What need then have I for circumcision, who have the testimony of God in my favour? How can I require that baptism, who have been already baptized with the Holy Ghost? These truths I think myself able to prove, even to those who have but little understanding, for these words have not been composed by me, nor are they adorned by the arts of human eloquence, but they are the same as David sang, the good news which Isaiah taught, which Zacharias proclaimed, and Moses wrote. Do you know them, Trypho? they are to be found in your own Scriptures. Yea, rather, not yours, but ours. For we obey them, whilst you who read them understand not their meaning. Be not angry then, nor reproach us for our fleshly uncircumcision which God Himself made, nor account it a grave crime that we use hot drink on the sabbaths[1], for God Himself continues the same administration of the world on that as on all other days, and your chief priests are commanded to make the same offerings on it as they make in the rest of the week. And so many righteous men, who kept none of these legal observances, have still obtained the express approval of God Himself. The Law superseded. Numb. 28, 9. 10. Mat. 12, 5.

30. "But ascribe it to your own wickedness, that God can be thus falsely accused by fools of not having always taught the same righteous doctrines to all. And to many men such doctrines have appeared unreasonable and unworthy of God, because they have not received grace to perceive that they have called your people, who were sunk in wickedness and possessed by disease of the soul, to conversion and Christian righteousness is the true.

[1] Petavius thinks these words of St. Justin opposed in doctrine to a passage in the interpolated Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians, §. 9. where he mentions the use by the Jews of warm drinks on the sabbath, χλίαρα πίνων. Cotelerius, vol. ii. p. 56. But χλίαρον does not mean hot, but lukewarm, water, which was heated not on the sabbath, but on the day before." *Ben.*

JUST. MART. spiritual repentance[k]; and that prophecy, which issued after the death of Moses, is eternal: and this, my friends, is said in the Psalm[l], were to endure for ever, they appeared devoid of reason, and unworthy of God their author. But that we, who have been enlightened by them, consider them to be *sweeter than honey and the honeycomb,* is proved by the fact, that we are ready to confess His Name even to death; and that we who believe on Him, pray Him to preserve us from all strange, that is, all wicked and deceitful spirits, the word of prophecy, speaking in the person of one of the faithful, makes apparent to all. And we constantly pray to God, through Jesus Christ, that we may be preserved from those evil spirits which are opposed to the worship of God, and whom we formerly used to adore; in order that after our conversion to God through Christ, we might be blameless[m]. For Him we call our Helper and Redeemer, at the power of whose Name the devils themselves tremble; and when exorcised by us even at this day, in the Name of Jesus Christ, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate the governor of Judæa, they are subjected to us; from which it is plain to all, that the Father gave Him so great power, that even the devils themselves submit to His Name, and to the dispensation[n] of His suffering which He endured.

Ps. 19, 10.

Christ's power at His second coming.

31. "And if so great power is shewn to have attended, and still to attend, the dispensation of His Passion, how great shall that be which shall be shewn in His glorious Advent? For as the Son of Man He shall come upon the clouds of Heaven, and the Angels with Him, as Daniel has declared, whose words are as follows; *I beheld till the thrones were set, and the Ancient of Days did sit, Whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like pure wool: His throne was like*

Dan. 7, 9. to end.

[k] Perhaps 'spiritual repentance.' The words τοῦ πατρὸς in the Greek make no sense, and may be an error for τοῦ πνεύματος.

[l] The nineteenth Psalm seems to be omitted here for brevity's sake, either by St. Justin, or the transcribers. For it is obvious to observe, that St. Justin explains some passages in this Psalm, as if he had recited it before. *Benedictine note.*

[m] Jebb refers to the Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions, b. viii. c. xi. *Pro fidelibus.* "Preserve them unchanged, blameless, and without reproach, that they may be holy in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. Deliver them from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, and the pestilence that walketh in darkness." [Ps. 91, 5. 6.] Cotelerius, Patres Apost. vol. i. p. 401, 402. Otto, p. 98.

[n] He seems to mean the sign of the Cross.

the fiery flame, and His wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued, and came forth from before Him. Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him. The books were opened, and the judgment was set. I beheld then the voice of great words, which the horn spake; and the beast was tortured, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. And concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet the lives of the beasts were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and stood before Him, and they that stood by brought Him. And there was given Him power and royal dignity, and all the nations of the earth according to their tribes, and all glory, serving Him. And His power is an everlasting power, which shall not be taken away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed. And my spirit was grieved in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me. And I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this: so he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the words. These great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall perish from the earth, and shall not receive the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. Then was I desirous to enquire diligently concerning the fourth beast, which destroyed all things, and was exceeding dreadful; whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet: and concerning the ten horns that were in his head, and concerning that one which came up, and before which three of the former fell: and that horn had eyes, and a mouth that spake great things, and his look was more stout than his fellows. And I observed that that horn made war with the Saints, and prevailed against them: until the Ancient of Days came, and gave judgment to the Saints of the Most High, and the time came, and the Saints of the Most High possessed the kingdom. And it was told me concerning the fourth beast, that it should be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall far excel all these kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and lay it waste, and destroy it. And the ten horns are ten kings that shall arise: [*and another shall arise*]

DIAL. TRYPH.

JUST. MART. *after them, and he shall exceed them that were before him in wickedness, and he shall subdue three kings, and he shall speak great words against the Most High, and he shall overthrow the rest of the Saints of the Most High, and think to change times and seasons, and it shall be delivered into his hands, until a time, and times, and the half a time. But the judgment sat, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and the power, and the greatness of the places of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, have been given to the holy people of the Most High, that they may reign in an everlasting kingdom: and all powers shall serve and obey Him. Hitherto is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, was very much astonished* [1]perhaps *my condition.* *at the vision, and my speech*[1] *changed to me, but I kept the matter in my heart.*"

Objection. The two Advents

32. On my pausing, for a moment, Trypho replied, "These and other similar passages of Scripture, sir, compel us to expect that Great and Glorious One, Who from the Ancient of Days, as the Son of Man, receives the eternal kingdom; but this, your so-called Christ, was inglorious and dishonoured to such a degree, as to have fallen under the last curse which is recorded in the law of God; for he was crucified."

[2] Sect. 13.

I replied to him as follows[2]. "If, sirs," said I, "I had not explained from the Scriptures which I have already cited, that His appearance should be inglorious, and His generation inexplicable; that for His death the rich should be put to death; that by His stripes we were healed; that it was said He was to be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and that there should be two advents of Him, the first in which He was wounded by you, the second in which you should look on Him Whom you had pierced, and *when your tribes should mourn tribe by tribe, the women apart and the men apart;* I might appear to have spoken what was obscure and difficult; but now, throughout all my discourse, I produce all my proofs from your sacred and prophetical writings, in the hope that some one among you may be found to be of that [seed[o]] which, by the grace of the Lord of Hosts, is reserved to eternal salvation. And that I may make the present ques-

Zech. 12, 12. 13.

[o] Ben. observes that this word is to be supplied, as in §. 55. and 64. from Is. i. 9.

tion plainer to you, I will among other Scriptures produce the words of the blessed David, from which you may perceive that Christ is termed even Lord by the Holy Spirit of prophecy, and that the Father and Lord of all things raised Him up from the earth, and made Him to sit on His right hand, until He shall make His enemies His footstool; which came to pass from the time when our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven, after He was raised from the dead; the times being fulfilled, and he who should speak blasphemous and audacious words against the Highest being now at the doors, and who, as Daniel declares, shall endure *for a time, times, and half a time.* But you, not knowing how long he should continue, explain it otherwise, and make the "time" to mean a hundred years. If so, the man of sin must reign three hundred and fifty years at least, calculating the holy Daniel's expression of "times" to mean two times only. All this however I have spoken in digression, that at last being convinced by that which is spoken against you by God, *Ye are children that have no understanding;* and again, *Therefore behold, I will proceed to remove this people, and I will remove them, and I will take away the wisdom of their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men will I hide,* you may cease to mislead both yourselves and those who listen to you, and learn of us who have been made wise by the grace of Christ. But these are the words of David; *The Lord said to my Lord, Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of Thy strength out of Zion: and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies. With Thee is the government in the day of Thy power, in the glories of Thy saints, from the womb before the morning I have begotten Thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. The Lord at thy right hand hath crushed kings in the day of His wrath. He shall judge among the heathen, He shall fill* [*the places with the*] *dead bodies; He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore shall He lift up the head.*

DIAL. TRYPH. Ps. 110, 1. Dan. 7, 25. Jer. 4, 22. Is. 29, 14. Ps. 110, 1.

33. "This Psalm," I continued, "you presume, as I know, to explain as spoken of king Hezekiah; but I will immediately shew you from the words themselves that you

Ps. 110, is not on Hezekiah.

JUST. MART. are in error. *The Lord sware, and will not repent,* it is said; and, *Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* with what follows and precedes. But not even yourselves will venture to deny, that Hezekiah neither was nor is an everlasting priest of God; in fact, the words themselves shew that it was spoken of our Jesus: but your ears are dull, and your hearts are hardened; for by these words, *The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* God declared Him to be a Priest after the order of Melchizedek with an oath, because of your unbelief; that is, as Moses writes, that as Melchizedek was made a priest of the Highest, and was a priest of those who are in uncircumcision, and blessed Abraham, who offered him tithes when he was in circumcision[p]; so has God declared, that His eternal Priest, Who is also called Lord by the Holy Ghost, should be the Priest of those who are in uncircumcision; and those of the circumcision who come to Him; that is, those who believe in Him, and seek to have their blessings from Him, He will both receive and bless. Now that He was first to be a man of low estate, and then to be exalted, the concluding words of the Psalm declare; *He shall drink of the brook in the way;* and, at the same time, *Therefore shall He lift up His head.*

Ps. 110, 4.

Is. 6, 10.

Ps. 110, 7.

Ps. 71, is not of Solomon

34. "And moreover also to prove to you that you do not understand the Scriptures, I will cite yet another Psalm, spoken to David by the Holy Ghost, which you maintain to be spoken of Solomon, who also was king over you, although it too was spoken of our Christ. But you deceive yourselves by equivocal terms. For when the law of the Lord is styled *an undefiled law,* you explain it not of that which was to come afterwards, but of the law of Moses, although God Himself declared that He would make a new law, and a new covenant. And where it is said, *Give the King Thy judgment, O God;* because Solomon was a king, you say that the Psalm was spoken of him, whereas its words plainly shew

Ps. 19, 7.

Ps. 72, 1.

[p] This statement seems a mistake of St. Justin, as the Editors have observed; for Abraham was not yet circumcised when Melchizedek met and blessed him. Genesis chap. xiv. xvii. Thirlby observes the same in Tertullian against the Jews. Cap. 3. cont. Marcion. l. v. c. 9.

that it was spoken of the eternal King, i. e. Christ; for Christ is spoken of as a King, and a Priest, and God, and Lord, and an Angel, and a Man, and Captain of the host, and a Stone, and a Child that is born, and first as becoming subject to suffering, then as going up into heaven, and coming again with glory, and possessing the everlasting kingdom, as I can prove from the whole Scriptures. To explain my meaning, I will cite the words of the Psalm, which are as follows: *Give the king Thy judgments, O God, and Thy righteousness unto the king's son, that he may judge Thy people with righteousness, and Thy poor with judgment. Let the mountains bring forth peace to the people, and the little hills righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall humble the false accuser. He shall remain with the sun, and before the moon throughout all generations. He shall come down like the rain into a fleece of wool, even as the drop that droppeth upon the earth. In His days righteousness shall arise, and abundance of peace, until the moon be taken away. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the rivers unto the ends of the earth. The Ethiopians shall fall down before Him, and His enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tharsis and the isles shall bring presents: the kings of the Arabians and Saba shall bring gifts. And all the kings of the earth shall worship Him, and all the nations shall serve Him. For He hath delivered the poor from the mighty; the needy also who had no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and save the souls of those who are in poverty. He shall deliver their souls from usury and wrong; and His name shall be precious in their sight. And He shall live, and unto Him shall be given of the gold of Arabia: prayer also shall be made for Him continually, all the day long shall they praise Him. And there shall be a support*[q] *in the earth; it shall be lifted up upon the tops of the mountains, and its fruit above Libanus, and they shall flourish out of the city like grass of the earth. His name shall be blessed for ever, His name shall endure before the sun. And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in Him. All the nations shall call Him blessed. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who*

Dial. Tryph.

Ps. 72, entire.

[q] στήριγμα. "Fortasse excidit vox σίτου aut ἄρτου." Conf. Ps. 104. 16. Schleusner.

JUST. MART. *only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be the name of His glory for ever and ever. And all the earth shall be filled with His glory. Amen. Amen.* At the end of this Psalm are these words, *The songs of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.*

"Now that Solomon was a king, and a great and illustrious one, is certain, and I know that by him the "temple of Jerusalem," as it is called, was built; but it is plain that none of the things mentioned in this Psalm were fulfilled in him, for all the kings of the earth never worshipped him, nor did his dominion extend to the ends of the world, nor did his enemies fall down before him and lick the dust; but I will venture to repeat what is written of him in the book of Kings, how that to please his wife he committed idolatry at Sidon[q], which they of the Gentiles who have received, through that Jesus Who was crucified, the knowledge of God, the Maker of the world, endure not to do, but rather undergo every torture and punishment, even to death, than commit idolatry, or eat of idol sacrifices."

1 Kings 11, 5.

Heresies confirm true believers in the faith.

35. "But," replied Trypho, "I am aware that there are many who affirm themselves to confess Jesus, and who are called Christians, but who eat idol sacrifices, and maintain that there is no harm in so doing."

To which I answered, "Even from the fact of there being such men who affirm themselves to be Christians, and confess the Jesus, Who was crucified, to be both Lord and Christ, yet who teach not His doctrines, but those which proceed from the spirits of falsehood; we, who are the disciples of the true and pure teaching of Jesus Christ, are made both more rooted in the faith, and more firm in the hope which we have received from Him; for the events which He foretold as about to come to pass in His name we see to be actually fulfilled. For He said, *Many shall come in My name, having*

[q] Ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰδωλολάτρει. It is no where related of Solomon, that he actually committed idolatry at Sidon, [though he *may*. Conf. 1 Kings 11, 5.] and the editors have in consequence had much difficulty with this passage. The Benedictine suggests that it should be read, Τοῖς ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰδώλοις ἐλατρεύει. Otto's suggestion seems more plausible, that the words ἐν Σιδῶνι have got interpolated into the text from the margin, because Tertullian, in a passage closely copied from the above, has nothing to correspond to them: "Solomon audeo dicere etiam quam habuit in Deo gloriam amisit, per mulierem in Idololatriam usque pertractus." Page 112, notes 12. 14. 'In Sion' has also been suggested.

outwardly sheep's clothing, but within they are ravening wolves. And, *There shall be divisions and heresies;* and, *Beware of false prophets, who shall come to you, outwardly having on sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves;* and, *There shall arise many false Christs and false Apostles, and they shall deceive many of the faithful.*

DIAL. TRYPH. 1 Cor. 11, 18. Matt. 7, 15. Mat. 24, 24.

"There both are and have been then, O my friends, many who have come and taught men to speak and act atheistically and blasphemously, in the name of Jesus; and they are known among us by the name of those from whom the doctrine and opinion of each of them first arose; for each has his own way of teaching how to blaspheme the Creator of all things, and the Christ Who was foretold by Him as about to come, and the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob[r]. With none of these do we hold communion, knowing them to be atheistical, irreverent, unjust, and lawless, who instead of worshipping Jesus, confess Him only in name; and these call themselves Christians in the

[r] On these words Bp. Bull says, "It must especially be observed, that Christ, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are said of the same Person, namely, of Him Who was foretold by the Creator of the Universe, that is, the Son of God. For, firstly, that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is here plainly distinguished from the Creator of the Universe, that is, from God the Father: secondly, it is most evident that Justin throughout this dialogue teaches, and most vehemently contends, that Christ, or the Son of God, was He Who appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and Who called Himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." And he proceeds to refer the passage to the Ebionites as to those "who blasphemed Christ, by plainly denying His Godhead, and asserting that before Abraham, nay, even before Mary, He had no existence whatever, but that He was a mere man born of Joseph and Mary." Judicium, chap. 7. §. 11. This the Benedictine endeavours to refute: "It is plain," he says, "that St. Justin speaks of those heretics who confessed Jesus to be Christ and the Lord, but who denied that He was foretold by the Prophets of the Creator and God of the Jews, because they wholly rejected Him and His prophecies with the whole of the Old Testament. Hence it appears that Christ is not termed the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in this passage, as Bull thinks. The holy Martyr does indeed confer that title on Him at the end of his first Apology and elsewhere, but he here terms *Him* the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whom these heretics denied to be the true God, (namely, the Creator and God of the Jews,) although they acknowledged Christ to be the true God, and maintained that He was far greater than the God of Abraham." The heretics in question he supposes to be the Gnostics of St. Epiphanius' 26th heresy, [who were the followers of Nicolas the Deacon, as is supposed; and are thought to be those condemned by St. John, in the second chapter of Revelations.] Bull is apparently mistaken in the grammatical construction of the sentence, which by repetition of the article excludes the identification of Christ with the God of Abraham. This has, in fact, nothing to do with S. Justin's own belief, which is known from other passages. He speaks of the Names, which they in one way or another blasphemed, severally, not stopping to say whether they really belonged to the same Person or not.

JUST. MART. same manner as that in which the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon their images, and are partakers of unlawful and atheistical rites. Of these, some are called [a]Marcionites, some Valentinians, some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians; and others by other names, each getting his name from the leader of his heresy, just as each of those who consider themselves philosophers, as I said at the outset, holds himself to bear the name of that philosophy which he follows, from the father of the school[1]. So that both from these proofs, as I have said, we are convinced that Jesus did foreknow what should happen after Him, as also from many other things which He foretold should take place to those who believe and confess that He is Christ. Even all the sufferings which we endure whilst destroyed by our own relatives, did He foretell to be about to overtake us, so neither word nor deed of His can be

[1] See §. 2.

[a] Μαρκιανοὶ. It has been questioned whether St. Justin here alludes to the followers of Mark the Valentinian, who were commonly termed Μαρκωσίοι, or to those of Marcion. It has been urged, in favour of the former, that the term Μαρκιανοὶ is not competent to express the disciples of Marcion, who would rather be termed Μαρκιανίσται. But the Benedictine editor thinks that Μαρκιανοὶ may be taken to express the Marcionites, because St. Epiphanius uses the terms Μαρκίωνες and Μαρκιωνίσται of them indiscriminately, and sometimes even calls the Valentinians Οὐαλεντίνοι; and it is obvious that the word Μαρκωσίοι is as violent an elongation, by which to express the disciples of Mark, as Μαρκίανοι is a violent abbreviation for those of Marcion.

There are besides two reasons against the allusion being to the former. First, Mark himself lived somewhat too late to be mentioned by St. Justin; and secondly, his name was at no time so well known as that of Marcion, whose followers had already appeared in all parts; his reputation too, such as he had, was rather that of a magician than of a heresiarch. Eusebius has preserved a passage of Hegesippus very closely resembling the above; it may be imitated or copied from it; which strongly suggests the possibility, that St. Justin originally wrote the word Μαρκιωνίσται or Μαρκιανίσται, for the MSS. vary. It is as follows: "Hence also," from Simon Magus and his followers, "came the Menandrians, the Marcionists, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians." History, book iv. chap. 22. Benedictine note, and Otto in loc.

The heretics here named were all offshoots from the parent stem of Simon Magus, the first Gnostic, and many of their doctrines bear strong marks of their Eastern origin, (Brucker, vol. 2. page 675.) the chief of which are as follows. They taught the intrinsic and incurable evil of matter, as the work not of the supreme God, but of an inferior and evil Creator. They held a plurality of Gods and of Æons, one of whom they made Christ. They denied that Jesus was Christ or God, and that He came to save the body. They affirmed that His Incarnation was only in appearance, and not in reality. They allowed no resurrection or salvation for the body. They taught metempsychosis, and they rejected the Old Testament as the work of the God of the Jews, whom they considered an inferior and even evil divinity, with other doctrines equally destructive of Christianity. The chiefs of these sects all lived in the second century, and taught, Basilides in Alexandria, Saturninus in Antioch, Valentinus in Alexandria and Rome, and Marcion in the latter city.

considered as in any way reprehensible. Hence we pray for you and for all others who persecute us, that you may repent with us and not blaspheme Him, Who by His own works, and by those miracles which are even now performed in His Name, by the words of His doctrine, and by the prophecies which were formerly spoken of Him, is proved to be in every respect without blame or fault, even Jesus Christ; but, on the contrary, that you may believe in Him, and may be saved in His second and glorious advent, and not condemned by Him to the fire." DIAL. TRYPH. Mat. 10, 21. 22.

36. "But," said Trypho, "granting all this to be as you say, and that Christ was foretold by the Prophets as being to suffer, and was termed a Stone; and after that first advent in which He was foretold as about to appear in a state of suffering, He was to return with glory, and thenceforth to become the Judge of all men, and the Eternal King, and Priest; prove to us, moreover, whether this is He of Whom these things were prophesied." Christ the Lord of Hosts. Ps. 118, 22.

"I will produce," I replied, "the proofs which you request in the proper place; but, for the present, I will first, with your permission, recite those prophecies which prove that Christ is called God, and the Lord of Hosts, and of Jacob in parable, by the Holy Ghost: but your interpreters are, as God proclaims aloud, "foolish," in asserting that they were spoken not of Christ but of Solomon, when he brought the tabernacle of witness into the temple which he built. It is this Psalm of David: *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and all that dwell therein. He hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods. Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not employed his soul in vanity, nor sworn to deceive his neighbour. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, even of them that seek the face of the God of Jacob. Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors,* Jerem. 4, 22. Ps. 24.

Just. Mart. *and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory!* It has been proved that Solomon was not the Lord of Hosts, but when our Christ rose from the dead and went up into Heaven, the princes whom God placed in the Heavens were commanded to open the gates of Heaven, that He, Who is the King of glory, might enter, and, as is said in another Psalm, when He had ascended, *Sit at the right* Ps. 110, 1. *hand of the Father, until He had made His enemies His footstool;* for when those heavenly princes saw that He presented the appearance of being devoid of beauty, and honour, and comeliness, and glory, they, not knowing Him, asked, *Who is this King of glory?* to which the Holy Ghost [1] ἀπὸ προσώπου. answered, either in the Person[1] of the Father or of Himself, *The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory.* But that none of those who stood at the gates of the temple of Jerusalem ventured to say of Solomon, how glorious soever a king he might have been, or of the tabernacle of the testimony, "*Who is this King of glory?*" every one I imagine will admit.

The same in other Psalms. Ps. 47, 6. 37. "And in the diapsalm of the forty-sixth Psalm," I continued, "it is thus written of Christ; *God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet: sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises. For God is the King of all the earth, sing ye praises with understanding. God reigneth over the Gentiles; God sitteth upon His holy throne. The princes of the people are gathered together with the God of Abraham, for of God are the mighty ones of the earth; they have been mightily lifted up.*

"And in the ninety-eighth Psalm the Holy Ghost upbraids you, and declares Him Whom you will not have as your King, to be the King and Lord of Samuel, Aaron, Moses, Ps. 99, 1. and all other men whatever: the words are as follows; *The Lord reigneth, let the people be angry: He that sitteth above the Cherubim; let the earth be moved. The Lord is great in Sion, and high above all people. Let them confess Thy great Name, for it is terrible and holy; and the King's honour loveth judgment. Thou hast prepared equity; Thou hast executed judgment and righteousness in Jacob. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His foostool, for He is holy.*

Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among them that call upon His Name. They called upon the Lord, saith the Scripture, *and He heard them: He spake unto them in the pillar of cloud, they kept His testimonies, and the ordinance that He gave them. Thou heardest them, O Lord our God: Thou wast placable toward them, O God, and tookest vengeance on all their inventions. Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at His holy hill: for the Lord our God is holy.*" DIAL. TRYPH.

38. To this Trypho replied, "It would be well for us, Sir, to obey our teachers, who direct us to give ear to none of your sect, and not to hold any communication with you on these subjects, for you have now spoken many blasphemies, endeavouring to persuade us that that man who was crucified was with Moses and Aaron, and spoke with them in the pillar of the cloud; then that He was made man, was crucified, and went up into Heaven, and will again return to the earth, and is to be worshipped." "I know," I answered, "that, according to the Word of God, this great wisdom of the Maker of all things, the Almighty God, is hidden from you. Hence my feelings for you cause me to strive anxiously to induce you to understand these marvels of ours, and if this is not to be, that I at least may be blameless in the day of judgment. You shall hear, moreover, other doctrines which may appear yet more wonderful to you; but be not troubled, but rather continue more diligent hearers and enquirers, disregarding the tradition of your teachers, who are convicted by the spirit of prophecy of being unable to comprehend what God has spoken, and rather preferring to teach their own doctrines. In the forty-fourth Psalm, it is also spoken of Christ thus; *My heart hath poured out a good word; I speak of my works to the King. My tongue is the pen of a ready writer. Thou art fairer than the children of men. Grace hath been poured out in Thy lips; therefore God hath blessed Thee for ever. Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Thou Most Mighty. With Thy beauty and Thy comeliness go forward, and ride prosperously, and reign, because of Thy truth, and meekness, and righteousness: and Thy right hand shall lead Thee wonderfully. Thine arrows are sharp, O Thou Mighty One;—the*

Trypho's charge of blasphemy answered. Is. 29, 14. Ps. 45, 1.

JUST. MART. *people shall fall under Thee;—in the heart of the King's enemies. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovedst righteousness, and hatedst wickedness: therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows. All Thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made Thee glad. Kings' daughters were in Thine honour: upon Thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about of divers colours. Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house. And the King shall desire thy beauty: for He is thy Lord God, and they shall worship Him. And the daughter of Tyre [shall be there] with gifts: the rich among the people shall supplicate Thy face. All the glory of the King's daughter is from within; she is clothed with golden fringes, and with various colours. The virgins her followers shall be brought unto the King, her companions shall be brought unto Thee. With joy and gladness shall they be brought, they shall be brought into the King's temple. Instead of Thy fathers have been born to Thee sons: Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth. I will remember Thy Name from one generation to another: therefore shall the people confess Thee for ever and ever.*

Enmity of Jews. 39. "Nor is it wonderful," I added, "that you hate us who understand these sayings, and even upbraid you with your hard-hearted prejudice. For Elias, when interceding with God about you, spoke thus; *Lord, they have slain Thy prophets, and thrown down Thine altars, and I only am left, and they seek my life. And God answered him, There are yet left Me seven thousand men, which have not bowed the knee to Baal.* As therefore, for the sake of those seven thousand, God did not then execute His wrath, so in the same manner even now He has not yet brought, nor does He bring down His judgment; for He knows that some will every day become disciples unto the Name of His Christ, and leave the error of their ways, who also receive gifts each as he is worthy, being enlightened through the Name of this same Christ. One receives the spirit of wisdom, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of fore-

1 Kings 19, 14. ver. 18.

knowledge, another of teaching, another of the fear of God[1]." DIAL. TRYPH. [1] Conf.

"To this," Trypho replied, "I would have you know, that you must surely be out of your senses to speak thus." Is. 11, 2. 1 Cor. 12, 8.

"But listen to me, you here," I said, "and learn that I am not mad, nor beside myself; but it was foretold, that after His Ascension into Heaven, Christ should rescue us like captives from our former errors, and give us gifts. These are the words; *He has gone up on high, He hath led captivity captive, He hath given gifts to men.* We then who have received these gifts from Christ, Who has gone up on high, prove from the words of the prophets, that you, *who are wise in your own eyes and prudent in your own sight,* are but fools, and honour God and His Christ with your lips only; whilst we, who have been instructed from all His truth, honour Him with our works, our knowledge, and our hearts, even unto death. You, however, for this reason hesitate perhaps to confess that this is the Christ, as the Scriptures declare, and the things that are before your eyes, and the works that are done in His Name, shew, that you may not be persecuted by those in authority, who, from the busy working of the serpent, that spirit of wickedness and deceit, will not cease to persecute and destroy those who confess the Name of Christ, until He shall come again, and put an end to them all, rewarding every one according to his deserts." Ps. 68, 18. Is. 5, 21. Is. 29, 13. Mat. 15, 8. Mark 7, 6.

Trypho then said, "Now give us proof that this man, whom you affirm to have been crucified and to have ascended again into Heaven, is the Christ of God; for that it is foretold by the Scriptures, that Christ should both suffer, and that He should come again with glory, and receive the everlasting kingdom over all nations, and that every government should be subjected to Him, has been sufficiently proved already by the Scriptures which you have cited: but prove to us that this is He."

"It has been proved," I replied, "already to those who have ears, and that even by what you yourselves confess. But that you may not think that I am at a loss, and unable to offer those proofs which you demand, I will, as I promised, produce them in a proper place. I now turn, however, to a continuation of the subject of which I was previously treating.

JUST. MART. Types of Christ in the Law.

40. "The mystery of the lamb, then, which God commanded you to sacrifice as a Passover, was a type of Christ, with Whose blood, according to the measure of their faith in Him, they who believe in Him anoint their houses, i. e. themselves; for that the image which God made, viz. Adam, was the [1] abode of His inspiration, you are all able to understand: which commandment I thus prove to be temporary. God permits the lamb to be sacrificed no where except in the spot *on which His Name is called*, for He knew that the days would come after Christ had suffered, when the place of Jerusalem should be given up to your enemies, and all sacrifices should entirely cease: moreover, that lamb, which was commanded to be roasted whole, was a symbol of the Passion of the Cross, by which Christ should suffer. For the lamb in roasting bears a resemblance to the figure of a cross; one spit pierces it horizontally from the lower extremities to the head, and another across the back, on which hang its forelegs[2]. In like manner, the two goats during the fast,—which are commanded to be alike[t], of which one was to be a scape-goat, but the other was for an offering,—are also prefigurations of Christ's two Advents; of the first on which your elders and priests sent Him away as a scape-goat, laying their hands on Him, and putting Him to death; and of the second, because in the same place of Jerusalem ye shall know Him Whom ye have put to dishonour, and Who was an offering for all sinners who wish to repent, and who fast the fast of which Isaiah speaks, *undoing the knots of violent contracts*, and observing the other precepts there laid down, which I have now recounted, and which all those who believe in Jesus do.

[1] *οἶκος.*

Deut. 16, 6.

[2] *αἱ χεῖρες.*

Levit. 16, 5.

Is. 58, 6.

"You know too, that the offering of these two goats, which was commanded to be made during the fast, was similarly allowed to be performed no where but in Jerusalem.

Offering of flour a type of the Eucharist.

41. "In like manner the oblation of the flour, my friends," I continued, "which was commanded to be offered for those

[t] So the Epistle of Barnabas, §. 7. Cotelerius, i. p. 21. It is not ordered in Scripture, that the goats should resemble each other, as St. Barnabas and St. Justin state, but such seems to have been the Jewish traditional custom; for we learn from the Talmudists, that "it was directed that they should be alike in size, colour, and value." See Cotelerius, note 68, on the above section of St. Barnabas; and Otto, p. 132. note 10.

who were cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to [1]offer, in remembrance of the Passion which he underwent for those who purify their souls from all sin, and that we should at the same time give thanks to God both for His having created the world and all that is therein for the sake of man, and for His having delivered us from the sin in which we were born, and overthrown with an utter destruction the principalities and powers of evil, through Him Who was made to undergo suffering according to His will. Hence God speaks thus, as I said before, by Malachi, one of the twelve prophets, of the sacrifices then offered by you; *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, neither will I accept your offerings at your hands: for from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My Name hath been glorified among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My Name, and a pure offering: for My Name is great among the heathen, saith the Lord, but ye profane it.* With regard to those sacrifices which are offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles, that is, of the Eucharistical Bread and equally of the Eucharistical Cup, He then foretold that we should glorify His Name, but that you should profane it. And the commandment of circumcision, by which you were strictly commanded to circumcise your children on the eighth day, was a type of that true circumcision by which we have been circumcised from sin and error, through Him Who rose from the dead on the first day of the week, Jesus Christ our Lord. For the first day of the week, while it remains the first of all the days, yet in the numbering again of all the days in their revolution, is called the eighth, and still it remains as it is, the first.

Dial. Tryph. [1] ποιεῖν.

Mal. 1, 10—12.

42. "The twelve bells again, which were directed to be suspended from the ephod, which reached to the feet of the high priest, were a symbol of the twelve Apostles, who depended on the power of the Eternal High Priest Christ, and through whose voices the whole world is filled with the glory and grace of God and His Christ. Hence David speaks thus; *Their sound hath gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* And Isaiah says, as from the [2]person of the Apostles telling

The twelve bells, the Apostles Exod. 28, 33.

Ps. 19, 4.

[2] προσώπου.

JUST. MART. Christ that men believe not their report, but the power of Himself that sent them, *Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? we have declared before Him as a little child, as a root in a dry ground;* with the remainder of the prophecy as before cited. But to speak thus, "*We* have declared before Him" as in the [1]person of many, and then to add, *as a little child,* proves that the wicked should become His servants, and obey His commands, and that all should be as it were one child; as indeed we may see in the case of a body which consists of many members, and yet is called, and is, one body, so the Church and people, being many men in number, yet, as forming but one thing, are called and described by one term. So, I continued, if I were to sum up all the ordinances which were commanded by Moses, I could prove them to be types and symbols and presignifications of what was afterwards to happen to Christ, and of those who were foreknown as believers in Him, as well as of the actions which should subsequently be performed by Himself; but since the things which I have already enumerated, seem to me sufficient, I omit them, and pass on to the next point in order.

Isa. 53, 1. 2.

[1] *προσώπου.*

1 Cor. 12, 12.

Christ the end of the Law.

43. "As then circumcision began from Abraham, and the sabbath, sacrifices, offerings, and feasts, from Moses, and I have proved that these were commanded on account of the hardness of your people's hearts; so it was requisite that they should cease in Him, Who, according to the will of the Father, was born of the Virgin of the race of Abraham, of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David, Christ the Son of God, Who it was preached should come as the future everlasting Law and New Covenant for the whole world, according to the meaning of the forementioned prophecies. We too, who through Him have come to God, receive not this fleshly circumcision, but the spiritual one, which Enoch and those who were like him observed. This, since we had been sinners, we received by means of Baptism, through the mercy of God, and it would be good[n] for all to receive it

[n] *ἐφετόν.* Perhaps 'it is enjoined upon all.' This sense is nearer to that of the word in Polybius, cited by Stephanus; that in the text is found in Aristotle, cited by Passow.

likewise. I now come to speak of the mystery of His generation, which presses itself upon our attention. DIAL. TRYPH.

"Isaiah then, in proof that the generation of Christ is not to be declared by man, speaks thus, as I have already stated; *Who shall declare His generation? His life is cut off from the earth: for the sins of My people was He brought to death.* Is.53,8. The generation then of Him Who was about to die, that by His stripes we sinful men might be healed, the Spirit of prophecy here declares to be indescribable; moreover, that they who believe in Him might be able to know how He was to be born and to come into the world, the Spirit of prophecy has thus spoken, by the same Isaiah, how it was to come to pass; *And the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God, in the depth, or in the height above. And Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And Isaiah said, Hear ye now, O house of David! Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will you weary my God also? Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign. Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and His Name shall be called Emmanuel. Butter and honey shall He eat, before He shall know either to refuse the evil, or choose the good. For before the Child shall know good or evil, He refuses evil to choose the good.* Is. 7, 10—16. *For before the Child shall have knowledge to say Father or Mother, He shall take away the strength of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of Assyria. And the land shall be abandoned*[1] *which thou shalt hardly endure on account of the face of the two kings. But God shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not yet come upon thee, from the day that He took away Ephraim from Judah, even the king of Assyria.* Is. 8, 4. Is. 7, 16. 17. Now that no one in the generation of Abraham according to the flesh was ever born, or said to have been born, of a virgin, except this our Christ, is plain to all; but since you and your teachers presume to assert, that it is not said in Isaiah, *behold, a virgin shall conceive,* but, *behold, a young woman shall conceive, and bear a son;* and explain the prophecy of Hezekiah your king, I will endeavour briefly to interpret it against this view, and to shew that it is spoken of Him Whom we confess to be Christ.

[1] κατα-ληφθή-σεται, read κατα-λειφθή-σεται.

JUST. MART. Salvation through Christ alone.

44. "In so doing, I shall be entirely guiltless as far as you are concerned, if by the proofs which I offer, I strive earnestly to persuade you to obey the truth. But if you remain in your hardness of heart, or if you hesitate in your decision through fear of the death which is decreed for Christians, and decline to adopt the truth, you will have yourselves to blame. And you deceive yourselves, if you think that because you are of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, you will certainly inherit those good gifts, which God has promised to bestow through Christ. For no one will receive any of them, from any source, except such as in their minds have resembled the faith of Abraham, and who have made acknowledgment of all the mysteries. I mean, that some commandments were given for holiness and righteous living, and other commandments and practices in like manner were laid down either in relation to the mystery of Christ, [or] on account of the hardness of heart of your people. To shew that it is so, God speaks thus in Ezekiel; *If Noah, Daniel, or Jacob*[1], *should ask the deliverance of either sons or daughters, they shall not be given unto them:* and in Isaiah to the same effect, *The Lord God said, And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against Me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.* But you should earnestly seek to know, as men who have cut off from your souls this hope, how you may obtain remission of your sins, and hope of the inheritance of the promised blessings: and there is no other but this, that, having become acquainted with this Christ of ours, and washed in that laver of forgiveness of sins which Isaiah proclaims, you should henceforth live without sin."

Ezek. 14, 20.

[1] In Sept. Ἰὼβ

Is. 66, 24.

Is. 1, 16.

Saints before Christ saved through Him.

45. Trypho now spoke: "Though I appear to interrupt these arguments which you say are necessary to be closely pursued, suffer me first to put a question which presses on my mind, and on which I desire information." "Ask what you wish," I said, "as it occurs to you; and after your questions have been answered, I will endeavour to resume and complete my arguments."

"Tell me then," he said, "shall they who have directed their lives according to the law laid down by Moses, live

equally with Jacob, Enoch, and Noah, in the resurrection of the dead, or no?" DIAL. TRYPH.

"When I quoted that passage," I replied, "from Ezekiel, which says, 'although Noah, Daniel, and Jacob, should ask the deliverance of sons and daughters, it should not be given them,' but each should be saved by his own righteousness, I said that those who lived according to the Law of Moses, should be equally saved: for in that Law, whatever is naturally good, holy, and just, is commanded to be practised by those who were obedient to it; and in like manner, things which were enjoined to be done on account of the hardness of the people's hearts were put in writing, which those under the Law were also accustomed to perform. Since they who did such things as are by nature universally and eternally good, are well-pleasing to God, and through this Christ of ours shall be saved in the resurrection equally with their righteous forefathers, Noah, Enoch, Jacob, and others, together with those who acknowledge Christ as the Son of God, Who, being before the morning star and the moon, yet condescended to take flesh, and be born of this Virgin, who was of the race of David, that through this dispensation, the serpent who wrought wickedness from the beginning, and the angels who resemble him, might be overthrown, and death set at nought, that at the second coming of Christ it might henceforth be utterly deprived of all power over those who believe in Him, and have lived in a manner that is pleasing to Him; having no longer any being, when the one sort shall be sent into the judgment and condemnation of the eternal fire to be tormented, but the others shall live together free from suffering, and corruption, and sorrow, and in immortality."

Ezek. 14, 20.

Ps. 110, 3; 72, 5.

46. "But if any even now wish to live in the observance of the Law of Moses, and yet believe on Jesus Who was crucified, and acknowledge that He is the Christ of God, to Whom it is given to judge all men universally, and whose is the everlasting kingdom; can they too be saved?" he asked. To which I replied as follows: "Let us consider together if it be now permitted to observe every ordinance of the Law of Moses?" To this he answered, "It is not: for we know that, as you say, the Paschal lamb cannot be sacrificed in

Is the Law to be kept under the Gospel.

Just. Mart. other than the appointed place[x], nor the goats that are commanded to be offered at the fast, nor any other of the oblations whatever."

"Tell me yourself then, I beg," said I, "what are the commandments which it is possible to observe? for then you shall be convinced, that one who has not practised nor observed these same eternal ordinances of yours, can yet assuredly be saved."

"We can keep the sabbath," he said, "and be circumcised, and observe the months, and wash when we have touched any thing forbidden by Moses, or after sexual connexion."

"Then," I replied, "can Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, Job, and others who were before them, or after them, and who were also righteous like them, I mean, Sarah the wife of Abraham, and Rebekah of Isaac, and Rachel the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and other women of the same kind, down to the mother of God's faithful servant Moses, but who kept none of these laws, in your opinion be saved?" To this Trypho answered, "Was not Abraham and his posterity circumcised?"

"I know that they were," I replied, "but I have stated at length in the previous part of my discourse, for what reason circumcision was enjoined on them; and unless what has been already said put you to shame, let us again examine the subject. You know well, that none of those righteous men who lived before Moses observed, or was commanded to observe, any one of the ordinances about which we are now enquiring, except circumcision, which received its commencement from Abraham."

"We know it," he said, "and we confess that they were saved."

"Then," said I again, "consider that for the hardness of your hearts, God gave you all such commandments by Moses, that you might by these numerous ordinances in every act have Him before your eyes, and not begin to act either unjustly or impiously. Hence He commanded you Numb. 15, 38. 41. to wear a scarlet ribband, that through it you might not forget Him: and to gird yourselves with a phylactery, made of very small strips of parchment, and inscribed with

[x] The Jews were not permitted to do it at Jerusalem, as the Law required.

characters which we conceive to be certainly sacred, inciting you by such means ever to bear Him in your minds; and at the same time He convicts you for not having preserved in your hearts the slightest remembrance of godliness, nor being even thus persuaded not to fall into idolatry. For when He recounted to Elias the number of those who had not bowed the knee to Baal, He declared them to be seven thousand. And in Isaiah, He rebukes you for making your children a sacrifice to idols, whilst we, to escape sacrificing any longer to those to whom we sacrificed formerly, undergo the most extreme punishments, and rejoice even in death, believing that God will raise us up through His Christ, and make us incorruptible, void of suffering, and immortal; but we know that the commandments which were given you on account of your people's hardness of heart, do in no wise conduce to righteousness or to holiness." DIAL. TRYPH. 1 Kings 19, 18. Is. 57, 5.

47. Trypho then enquired, "But if any one has gained the knowledge that these things are so, and besides holding for certain that this is the Christ, has in fact both believed in and obeyed Him, yet wishes to keep these ordinances as well, shall he be saved?" Question of communion with Judaizers.

"As it appears to me, Trypho," I replied, "he shall be saved, provided that he do not on any account strive to persuade other men. I mean such of the Gentiles as are circumcised through Christ from their errors, to keep the same rites as himself, affirming that they cannot be saved except they do so, which you yourself did in the beginning of our conversation, saying, that I could not be saved except I kept them."

"But why," said Trypho, "do you say, 'In my opinion' such an one shall be saved, except there are any who hold the contrary?"

"There are such, Trypho," I replied, "who are bold enough to refuse to hold communion, either in conversation or domestic life, with men of this description, with whom I do not agree. But if any through weakness of judgment wish to keep as many of these ordinances of the Mosaic Law as possible, which we consider to have been given because of the hardness of your hearts, whilst they place their hope in the same Christ, and observe the eternal and natural practices

Just. Mart. of justice and righteousness; and choose to live with those who are Christians, and faithful as I said, without persuading them to be circumcised like themselves, or to keep the sabbaths, and other similar observances; I consider that we ought to receive them, and communicate with them in every thing, as kinsmen and brothers; but if, I said, any of your nation, Trypho, profess to believe in this Christ, and yet at the same time endeavour to compel the faithful Christian Gentiles to live according to the Law of Moses, or refuse to hold the above kind of communication with them, these also equally with the former I do not admit; but those Gentiles who have been persuaded by the Jews to adopt the observance of the Law, together with their confession of the Christ of God, may also, I think, be possibly saved. Those, however, who have once confessed and acknowledged that this is Christ, and yet have, for whatever reasons, gone over to the Jewish Law, denying that this is the Christ, and not repenting before their death, cannot in my opinion, by any means whatever, be saved: and I think the same of those of the seed of Abraham, who live according to the Law, and believe not in this Christ, to the very end of their lives. And so too especially of those who have cursed, or who now in the synagogues curse both Christ[y], and every other means by which they may both obtain salvation, and escape the punishment of the fire; for the goodness and love of God, and the immensity of His riches, accounts the man who repents of his sins, as righteous and spotless, according to His declarations by Ezekiel; and him who has departed from holiness and righteousness to injustice and ungodliness, as sinful, unrighteous, and profane. Hence our Lord Jesus Christ has said, 'In whatsoever things I find you, in the same will I judge you[z].'"

Ezek. 33, 11. 20.

[y] So §. 16. page 91.

[z] Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. Grabe observes in his Spicilege, that these words are also cited by St. Clement of Alexandria," [Quis dives salvetur Potter, §. 40.] "and Elias of Crete, but as spoken not by Christ, but by God the Father; and that St. John Climacus in his Scala Paradisi, Gradu vii. p. 159. refers them to Ezekiel:" similar expressions being found in chap. vii. 8; xviii. 30; xxiv. 14; xxxiii. 20. of that prophet, Grabe's own opinion, in which the Benedictine concurs, is, that they were found as words of our Lord, in one of the Apocryphal Gospels: most probably in that according to the Hebrews.—Spicilegium i. 14. and note p. 327. Otto thinks that they may be a version of the words of our Lord, in St. John v. 30. "As I hear I judge."

"We now know," said Trypho, "what is your opinion on these subjects; resume the argument therefore where you paused and finish it, for it appears to me to be a kind of paradox, and utterly incapable of proof; because your assertion that this Christ was God, preexisting before all ages, and then condescending to become man and to be born, and not man of man, seems to me not only paradoxical, but also absurd." DIAL. TRYPH. Christ to be first known; then seen to be God.

"I know," I replied, "that this assertion must appear paradoxical, and especially to men of your nation, who have never cared to know or to do the things of God, but only the traditions of your teachers, as God Himself proclaims. Still however, Trypho," I continued, "the fact is not lost that this Man is the Christ of God, even if I should be unable to prove that He both preexisted as the Son of the Creator of the world, Himself being God, and was made Man through the Virgin. But since it has been fully proved that He is the Christ of God, whatever that Christ is to be; even if I am unable to shew that He did preexist, and condescended to take flesh, and to become man of like passions with ourselves, according to the will of the Father; in this latter point only would you be right in saying that I am in error, and not in denying that He is the Christ; even though He should appear as a man born of [1] men, and be proved to have been made Christ by election; but there are some of our [2] profession who confess Him to be Christ, but consider Him a Man, and the Son of men; with whom I do not agree, nor could I do so, even if the greatest number of such as are of my opinion were to say the same[a]; Isa. 29, 13.

[1] ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.
[2] γένους. 'sort' or 'family.'

[a] Bishop Bull, the better to oppose Episcopius, who had said in his defence of the Remonstrants, that the Churches of the second century "professed their belief that Jesus Christ was no more than a mere man,' or "a man of men," and "made Christ by election," in proof of which assertion he had cited the above words of St. Justin, after admitting that "the name of Christians may have been given by St. Justin to those who so believe, as it is given in his 2d" [1st] "Apology to the disciples of Simon, Menander, Marcion, and others, who, receiving Jesus in some manner, call themselves Christians;" proceeds to suggest, that the word "our" (ἡμετέρου) may be an error for "your" (ὑμετέρου), St. Justin meaning 'some Jews.'

His reasons for this proposed change are as follows: 1. As St. Justin always uses the word γένος in its primary signification of blood relation, he could not here apply it to the Christians. 2. The Ebionites, to whom he refers the passage, were of Jewish extraction, and their heresy is ranked among those which came from the Jews. 3. St. Justin had just before said, "If any of your nation, ὑμετέρου γένους, who believe in Christ, compel the Gentile converts to keep the law, I do not receive them;" which the Bishop thinks may refer to the same people; and, 4. he considers the alteration in question

JUST. MART. for we are commanded by Christ not to follow the doctrines of men, but those which have been proclaimed by the holy prophets and taught by Himself."

The coming of Elias. 49. Trypho then said, "They who affirm Him to have been a man, and anointed and made Christ by election, appear to me to say what is more credible than this doctrine of yours[b]. For we Jews all expect that Christ will be a man of men, and that Elias must anoint Him when He has come; but if He, of Whom you speak, be shewn to be Christ, one must conclude on all hands that He is a man born of men, although from Elias not having come, I do not consider that this is Christ."

necessary to the coherence of the text; Justin's meaning being, that as certain of Trypho's race did acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah, though admitting neither His Divinity, nor His birth of a Virgin; so Trypho himself ought to acknowledge Him to be such, even if he (St. Justin) could not positively prove those facts.

The Benedictine, on the other hand, considers that ἡμετέρου should be retained for the following reasons: 1. St. Justin, in the case of the few opponents of the Doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, does not consider the question of descent and family, but of community of name as Christians, with other Christians, whether orthodox or heretical: 2. St. Justin says in §. 82. when speaking of heretics, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νῦν πόλλοι εἶσι καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλοι: 3. which supports the first, that Christians used to reckon heretics on their own side, as opposed to Jews and heathens.

It may be added, that Bishop Bull's emendation does not, after all, greatly affect the doctrinal sense of the passage; for if there were any bond of union whatever between the true believers and those humanitarians of whom St. Justin speaks, and if the latter might be termed Christians in any sense, however imperfectly, as confessing Jesus to be Christ, although believing Him to be merely the Son of Joseph and Mary, as the Ebionites did, St. Justin could not escape that fact, by merely insisting that they were of Jewish descent. 2. There is no actual proof that the word γένους is here to be confined to the literal meaning, but, 1st, the context rather appears to signify the contrary; and, 2dly, St. Justin, in §. 138, plainly uses it of Christians; saying, "Christ is the first-begotten of every creature, and is made the beginning again of another race, γένους, which is regenerated by Him, through water and faith and wood, &c." He might use the word in an external sense, of those who were supposed to belong to this new race.

Again, if the words (some) and (the greatest number) refer, as it seems, to the same subject, (the one stating the fact, the other a supposition,) and the latter proves that subject to be Christians and not Jews, it appears needless for St. Justin to add, 'with whom I do not agree,' of the latter, considered as mere Jews.

Lastly, as to the coherence of the text, it seems of little importance to the main argument who are intended, as the opinion is merely mentioned as one that may be held, not recommended for final adoption. Ben. refers to §§. 35, 63, 80. as shewing that St. Justin held the Church to be a distinct Body, in which the heretics had no part. His own expressions here shew, that he held the Divinity of our Blessed Lord as a part of the Faith which Christians are commanded to receive.

[b] This doctrine of Christ being a mere man, and chosen by God for His foreseen merit to be exalted, is given as that of the Arians, at the time of the origin of their heresy, by Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, in whose diocese it was first taught, to his namesake of Constantinople. Theodoret, History, book i. §. 4. Bishop Bull points out the entire opposition between the doctrines of St. Justin and of Arius, in his "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ," sect. ii. chap. iv. §§. 5. 6. and following; and see on §. 67. of this Dialogue.

I then asked him, if Scripture does not say by Zacharias that Elias shall come before that great and terrible day of the Lord. He answered, that it certainly does. "If then Scripture compels us to confess that it was foretold that there should be two comings of Christ; one in which He should appear in suffering, dishonour, and uncomeliness, the other when He should come in glory and as the Judge of all men, as I have shewn from the many passages which I have previously quoted; shall we not conceive that the Word of God has proclaimed Elias to be the forerunner of the dreadful and great day, that is, of His second coming?" DIAL. TRYPH. Mal. 5, 5.

"Certainly," was his reply.

"Our Lord Himself," I continued, "has taught us that this very thing shall be so by His own doctrine, when He said that Elias also shall come; and we know that this shall be fulfilled, when He is about to come from Heaven in glory: Whose first appearance too a forerunner preceded, namely, the Spirit of God, which had been in Elias, in the person of John, who was a prophet of your nation, since whom no second remaining prophet has arisen amongst you, and who, as he sat by the river Jordan, cried out, *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. Whose fan is in His hand, and He will throughly purge His floor, and gather His wheat into the garner; but He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* This very prophet Herod your king had shut up in prison; and when Herod's birthday was kept, and his brother's daughter danced before him and pleased him, he bade her ask whatever she desired. And the damsel's mother incited her to ask the head of John the Baptist, who was in prison; and at her request Herod sent, and commanded the head of John to be brought on a charger; whence our Christ replied, then on earth, to those who said, that before the Christ should appear Elias must come, *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things; but I say unto you that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed:* and it is written, *Then the disciples understood that He spake unto them of John the Baptist.*" Mat. 17, 11. Matt. 3, 11. 12. Luke 3, 16. 17. Mat. 14, 3—11. Mark 4, 17—27. Mat. 17, 11. 12. ver. 13.

JUST. MART. Then said Trypho, "that which you have now asserted, appears to me to be paradoxical; namely, that the prophetical Spirit of God which was in Elias, was also in John." To this I said, "Do you not admit that the same thing took place in the case of Joshua the son of Nun, who succeeded Moses in the leading of the people, when Moses was commanded to lay his hands on him, and God said, *I will take of the spirit that is in thee, and lay it on him*[c] *?*"

"I admit it," he replied.

"As then," I continued, "God took of the Spirit which was in Moses, who was still among men, and laid it upon Joshua, so was He able to cause It to pass from Elias to John[d]; that as Christ in His first coming appeared to be devoid of glory, so might the first presence of that Spirit which in Elias always existed in purity[1], be also understood to be like the first coming of Christ without glory. For the Lord is said to war against Amalek with a hidden hand, and you will not deny that Amalek has fallen[e]. If then it is said, that He should war with Amalek only in the glorious Advent of Christ, what fruit shall there be of the Scripture which says, *God shall war with Amalek with a hidden hand?* You may therefore perceive, that the hidden power of God was in Christ Who was crucified, at Whom both the devils and all the powers and principalities of the earth tremble.

[1] an error may be suspected in the reading.

Exod. 17, 16. (See the Septuagint version.)

John foretold by Isaiah. 50. "You appear to me," said Trypho, "to have been frequently in controversy with many opponents on all disputable subjects, and hence you are prepared with answers to whatever is asked you. Answer me then, first, how you prove that there is any other God beside Him, Who is the Creator of all things; and then you shall shew that He also condescended to be born of a Virgin."

"Permit me first," I replied, "to cite some passages from the prophet Isaiah, declaratory of the office of fore-

[c] St. Justin has perhaps, as Thirlby observes, confused the account of the appointment of the seventy elders, contained in Numbers xi. 17, &c. with that of the election and ordination of Joshua, in Numbers xxvii. 18. 23. and Deuteronomy xxxiv. 9. But Numbers xxvii. 20. may bear him out. Compare also 2 Kings ii. 9, 10, 15.

[d] It may be rendered, 'to cause some of the spirit of Elias to pass to John.'

[e] i. e. when least expected. conf. 1 Sam. xv. 3, 7. 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43.

runner, which John the Baptist, who was also himself a prophet, performed for this our Lord Jesus Christ." DIAL. TRYPH.

"I will," said he.

"Isaiah then," I continued, "spoke thus of John's office of forerunner: *And Hezekiah said to Isaiah, Good is the word of the Lord which He hath spoken: let there be peace and righteousness in my days. And comfort ye My people: speak, O ye priests, to the heart of Jerusalem, and comfort her; for her humiliation is accomplished. Her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hand double of all her sins. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, make the paths of our God straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and all the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God: for the Lord hath spoken it. The voice of him that spake was, Cry. And I said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass hath withered, and the flower thereof hath fallen; but the word of the Lord remaineth for ever. Thou that bringest good tidings to Zion*[e], *get thee up into the high mountain: thou that bringest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid: say to the cities of Judah, Behold your God, behold the Lord cometh with strength, and His arm cometh with dominion. Behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him. He shall feed His flock like a shepherd; He shall gather the lambs with His arm, and He shall comfort her that is with young. Who hath measured the water with his hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with the hollow of his hand? Who hath weighed the mountains in scales, and the forests in a balance? who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor, that shall teach Him? or with whom took He counsel, and who instructed Him? or who hath shewn Him judgment, or made known to Him the way of knowledge? All nations are as a drop of a* Isa. 39, 8. to 40, 18.

[e] St. Justin has 'Thou' in the masculine, as LXX. The other Greek versions have the feminine, giving the sense as in our version. St. Jerome notices the ambiguity.

JUST. MART. *bucket, and have been counted as the turning of a balance, and shall be counted as spittle. And Libanus is not sufficient for a burning, and the beasts are not sufficient for a burnt-offering; and all nations are as nothing, and have been counted as nothing.*"

This Prophecy fulfilled.

51. When I concluded, Trypho said, "The words of this whole prophecy are ambiguous, good man, and are not decisive to prove what you wish."

"If the Prophets," I replied, "had not ceased from among you, Trypho, so that there have been none since this John, you might certainly think what I now quote of Jesus Christ to be ambiguous. But if John came before Him to call men to repentance, and Christ came while he was sitting at the river Jordan, and put an end[r] to his prophesying and baptizing, and preached the Gospel Himself, saying, that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and that He must suffer many things of the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again the third day, and appear again at Jerusalem, and eat and drink with His disciples; and foretold that during His absence, as I have already said, there should be heresies and false prophets in His Name, which is evidently the case; how is it any longer possible to doubt, since you may be convinced by the fact? He also said, that there should be no more prophets among you, and that men should acknowledge that the new Covenant, which God had long since foretold that He would establish, was even then present, that is, it was Himself Who was the Christ.

Mat.11, 12—15. Luke16, 16. For He spoke thus; *The Law and the Prophets were until John the Baptist, from which time the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

Jacob foretold two Advents of Christ.

52. "The Patriarch Jacob also prophesied that there should be two comings of Christ; that in the first He should be liable to suffering, and that after His coming your nation should have neither prophet nor king. Moreover," I added, "the Gentiles who believe on the passible Christ, will expect His second appearance. For this reason did

[r] Ben. refers to §. 87. and Tertullian against Marcion, book iv. Compare also John 3, 30. Matt. 11, 13. Luke 16, 16.

the Holy Ghost utter these things in a parable, and darkly. Thus then, I said, it is written; *Judah, thy brethren have praised thee: thy hands are on the back of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; from a shoot, my son, thou art gone up. He laid him down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp; who shall rouse him up? A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from between his feet, until the things laid up for him come; and he shall be the expectation of the nations. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the tendril of the vine. He washeth his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes: his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white as milk.* Now that either prophet or king ever ceased in your nation from the time of its first beginning until this Jesus Christ was born and suffered, you will not be so shameless as to venture to assert, nor can you prove it if you do. DIAL. TRYPH. Gen. 49, 8—12.

"For although you term Herod, after[g] whose reign Christ suffered, an Ascalonite, you confess that you still had an high priest of your own nation, so that even then you had one who offered sacrifices according to the law of Moses, and observed the other ordinances; and you also had a succession of prophets down to the time of John. So too when your nation was led away to Babylon, and your land conquered, and your holy vessels taken, a prophet ceased not from among you, who became the lord, and leader, and prince of your people; for the Spirit which was in your prophets used to anoint and institute even your kings. But since the advent and death of Jesus our Christ amongst you, there has been no where among you nor is there now any prophet. You have ceased to live under your own king, and moreover your country is desolate and abandoned as *a lodge in a garden;* but that which is spoken by Jacob, *He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles,* shewed symbolically His two Advents, and that the Gentiles should believe in Him, which now at last you may perceive; for we who from all nations have been made Is. 1, 8.

[g] ἀφ' οὗ. Ben. refers to §. 88 and §. 113 for a somewhat similar use of the preposition, but the words are suspected of being a gloss.

JUST. MART. worshippers of God, and righteous through faith in Christ, look for Him to appear a second time.

Christ riding on an ass.

53. "And this expression, *Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the tendril of the vine,* is a foreshewing of the works which He did at His first coming, and of the Gentiles likewise, who should believe in Him; for these were like a foal which had never been harnessed, nor had a yoke on its neck, until this Christ came, and sent His disciples, and converted them. And they have borne the yoke of His instruction, and submitted their backs to endure all things, because of the good things which they look for, and which He has promised. And our Lord Jesus Christ verily commanded His disciples to bring Him an ass with its foal, which was bound at the entrance of the village of Bethphage, when He was about to enter Jerusalem, and He rode upon it into the city. Which since it had been prophesied expressly that it should be done by Christ, when done by Him and recognised, made Him manifest to be the Christ. And yet although all these things have been done and shewn by the Scriptures, you continue in your hardness of heart. It was foretold that this should come to pass by Zacharias, one of the twelve prophets, in these words; *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King shall come unto thee: He is just, and having salvation; lowly and poor, riding upon an ass, and upon the foal of an ass.* Now the Spirit of Prophecy, as well as the Patriarch Jacob, specified that He should have in his possession also an ass[h] that was accustomed to the yoke, with her foal; and His commanding His disciples, as I said before, to bring both, was a presignification of those who should believe on Him, both of your synagogue and of the Gentiles; for as the foal which had never borne the yoke was typical of the Gentiles, so was the ass which had been subject to it typical of your nation; for you have the law, which was laid on you by the Prophets. It was also foretold by Zacharias, that this same

Zech. 9, 9.

[h] The Mss. have κτίσει, Sylburgius and others would substitute κτήσει or χρήσει. The Benedictine prefers the latter, and Otto the former, which is certainly the natural reading, and in fact makes better sense, St. Justin regarding the typical meaning more than the literal history.

Christ should be smitten, and His disciples scattered, which also came to pass. For after He was crucified, they were scattered until He rose from the dead, and proved to them that it was thus foretold of Him that He should suffer; and being so persuaded, they went into all the world, and taught these truths. Hence it is that we are grounded in His faith and doctrine, having our persuasion both from the prophets, and from those whom we see throughout the world to have become worshippers of God, in the Name of Him Who was crucified. These are Zacharias' words; *Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man of my people, saith the Lord of Hosts. Smite the shepherd, and his sheep shall be scattered.* Dial. Tryph. Zech. 13, 7.

54. "And that which Moses has recorded, and which was spoken by the Patriarch Jacob, *He shall wash His garments in wine, and His clothes in the blood of the grape,* shews that He should wash those who believed on Him in His blood; for the Holy Ghost calls those who received remission of their sins through Him, His robe; in whom He is always present in power, as He shall be openly present at His second coming. And that expression, *the blood of the grape,* shews by a figure of speech, that the blood which Christ had was not of human generation, but was from the power of God: for as it is not man, but God, Who engenders the blood of the grape, so is it here foreshewn, that the blood of Christ should not be of human generation, but of Divine power. And this prophecy proves," I continued, "that Christ is not a man of men, born like ordinary human beings." What is 'the blood of the grape.' Gen. 49, 11.

55. "We shall remember," said Trypho, "this explanation of yours also, if by other arguments you can establish this question as well; but now resume your discourse, and shew us that the Spirit of Prophecy ever acknowledges any other God than the One Creator of all things; taking care not to call the sun and moon such, which we read that God permitted the Gentiles to worship as gods, in which sense the prophets often use the word. As, for example, *Thy God is God of gods and Lord of lords;* adding, *He is the great, mighty, and terrible,* in many places; which is not said as if they were really Gods, but as Scripture Trypho asks proof of a second Divine Person. Deut. 10, 17.

JUST. MART. teaches us, the true God Who made all things is the only Lord of those who are accounted gods and lords. The proof of which the Holy Ghost says by the holy David, 1 Chron. 16, 26. Ps. 16, 5. 115, 4-8. *The gods of the Gentiles,* that is, those which are accounted gods, *are idols of devils, and not gods.* And he adds a curse on those who make and worship them."

"I will not bring, Trypho," I replied, "those proofs by which I know that they who commit these and other like sins are condemned, but such as no one can contradict, and which will seem strange to you, though they are read by you every day. Whence you may perceive, that God, for your wickedness, has hidden the power of understanding the wisdom of His words from you, with the exception of a few, to whom, according to the grace of His long-suffering, He has left, as Isaiah says, a seed for salvation, Is. 1, 9. that your nation be not wholly destroyed, like Sodom and Gomorrah. Attend therefore to the passages which I am about to produce from the holy Scriptures, and which need no explanation, but only require to be heard.

God, but not the Father, appeared to Abraham.

56. "Moses, therefore, that blessed and faithful servant of God, declares, that He Who was seen by Abraham at the oak of Mamre was God, accompanied by two angels, who were sent, for the condemnation of Sodom, by Another, namely, by Him Who always remains above the heavens, Who has never been seen by any man, and Who of Himself holds converse with none, Whom we term the Creator of all things, and the Father; for his words are as follows: Gen. 18, 1. 2. *And God appeared unto him at the oak of Mamre, as he was sitting at the tent-door in the middle of the day. And lifting up his eyes, he looked, and, lo, three men stood over him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself toward the ground, and said.* And so on to the words, Gen. 19, 27. 28. *And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord; and he looked on the appearance of Sodom and Gomorrah, and on the appearance of the land round about, and saw, and, lo, a flame went up from the earth as the smoke of a furnace.*" When I ceased, I asked them if they had understood what had been cited? they replied that they had, but that it did not at all tend to prove my assertion, that there either was, or that

the Holy Ghost makes mention of, any other God and Lord besides the one Creator of all things. DIAL. TRYPH.

"Then," said I, "what I assert I will endeavour to prove to you, who understand the Scriptures; namely, that there both is, and that we read of, another God and Lord under the Creator of all things, Who is also termed an Angel, in that He [1]bears messages to men, whatever the Creator, above Whom there is no other God, wills to be borne to them." Then repeating my citation, I asked Trypho if he thought that God appeared to Abraham under the oak of Mamre, as Scripture says? He answered, "Certainly." And was He one of those three whom the Holy Ghost terms *men*, and says that Abraham saw?

[1] ἀγγέλλειν

He answered, "No; but God was seen by him before he had sight of those three, and then he saw them, whom the Scripture calls men, and who were angels. Two of them were sent to destroy Sodom, and the third promised Sarah that she should have a son, for which cause he was sent, and so departed and went his way."

"How is it then," I asked, "that one of the three who was in the tent, and who said, *I will return to thee according to the time of life, and thou shalt have a son*, returned, and appeared after the birth of Sarah's son, and the prophecy then declares that He is God? That you may perfectly understand me, hear the plain words of Moses: *And when Sarah saw the son of Hagar, the Egyptian bond-woman, which was born to Abraham, playing with her son Isaac, she said to Abraham, Cast out this bond-woman and her son: for the son of this bond-woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac. And that saying was very grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his son. And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of the bond-woman: in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.*

Gen. 18, 10.

Gen. 21, 9-12.

"Do you think, then," I asked, "that He Who said under the oak that He would return, since He foreknew that it would be necessary for Abraham to agree to all that Sarah advised him, did return according to the Scriptures, and that He is God, as these words declare, *And God said to Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of the bond-woman?*"

Gen. 21, 12.

JUST. MART. Trypho replied that he did; "but you have not proved," he said, "that God is any other than He Who appeared to Abraham, and to the patriarchs and prophets as well, but that we were not right in thinking the three who were in the tent with Abraham to have been all angels." To which I replied, "If I could not have proved from Scripture that one of those three is God, and yet is called an Angel, because, as I before said, He declares the will of God, the Creator of all things, to those to whom He chooses to make it known, and that He, like the two angels who accompanied Him, appeared on earth in the form of a man, and was seen by Abraham, and was also God before the formation of the world, it would be reasonable for you to believe what your whole nation believes." "Certainly," he replied, "for we think thus even to this day."

"Then," I said, "to return to the Scriptures, I will endeavour to persuade you, that He Who is said to have appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and is called God, is other than God the Creator of all things; other I mean in number, not in will; for I assert, that He never did (nor said) any thing but what the Creator of the world, above Whom there is no God, willed Him to do or to say."

Trypho replied, "Prove that it is so, in order that we may agree with you in this also: for we do not suppose that you would affirm Him to have done or said any thing contrary to the will of the Creator of all things."

"The Scripture," I replied, "which I have already cited, shall prove it to you. This is it: *The sun was risen upon the earth, when Lot entered into Zoar; and the Lord rained upon Sodom brimstone and fire from the Lord out of Heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the country round about.*" The fourth of Trypho's remaining companions then spoke. "Beside that one of those two Angels, then, who descended to Sodom, whom Scripture also by Moses terms the Lord, we must necessarily think that God Himself appeared to Abraham[1]."

Gen. 19, 23-25.

"Not only," I replied, "on this account, ought you certainly to admit what was the case, that besides Him

[1] He assumes that 'the Lord,' Who rained down fire, was one of the two who went to Sodom. This notion is farther discussed presently; see p. 141.

Whom we confess to be the Creator of the universe, another is called Lord by the Holy Ghost. For He is so styled not only by Moses, but also by David, who thus speaks: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I shall make thine enemies thy footstool:* and again in another place, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of equity is the sceptre of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.* Tell me then, if you think that the Holy Ghost calls any other God and Lord besides the Father of all things and His Christ: for I undertake to prove to you from the Scriptures themselves, that it is not one of those two Angels who came down to Sodom whom the Scripture calls Lord, but Him who accompanied them, and Who is also termed the God that was seen by Abraham." DIAL. TRYPH. Ps. 110, 1. Ps. 45, 6. 7.

"Prove it then," said Trypho, "for the day as you see is advancing, and we are not prepared for making these dangerous answers, having never before heard any one who examined, enquired into, or proved such points; nor should we have endured your remarks, but that you refer every thing to the Scriptures, and endeavour to bring your proofs from them, and declare that there is no God superior to the Creator of the universe."

"Know then," said I, "that the Scripture says, *And the Lord said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, who am old? Is any thing impossible with God? At the time appointed will I return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.* And a little after; *And the men rose up from thence, and looked on the face of Sodom and Gomorrah: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way. And the Lord said, I will not hide from Abraham My servant the things which I do.* And thus again soon after; *The Lord said, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is multiplied, and their sins are very great. I will go down, therefore, and see whether they may be to the full according to the cry which is come unto Me: and if not, that I may know. And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom. But Abraham was yet standing before the Lord. And Abraham drew near, and said, Wilt Thou also* Gen. 18, 13. 14. Gen. 18, 16. 17. Gen. 18, 20—23.

JUST. MART. *destroy the righteous with the wicked? &c.*" For I do not think it necessary to repeat what I have already written, but only to cite those passages from which I constructed my proofs for Trypho and his companions; I therefore passed on to the following words. "*And the Lord went His way, as soon as He had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place. And the two angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom:* and so on until you meet what follows. *But the men put forth their hands, and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut the door of the house:* and then the following; *And the angels laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hands of his daughters; the Lord being merciful unto him. And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that they said, Save, save thine own life. Look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the region round about. Escape to the mountain, lest thou be taken. But Lot said unto them, I beseech Thee, Lord, since Thy servant hath found grace in Thy sight, and Thou hast magnified Thy righteousness, which Thou hast done unto me in saving my life, and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest some evil take me, and I die: behold, this city is there near to flee unto, it is a little one: there I shall be safe, since it is little, and my soul shall live. And He said unto him, Behold, I have regarded thy person, and I will not overthrow the city, concerning which thou hast spoken, for thy word's sake. Haste, that thou mayest escape thither: for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. Therefore he called the name of that city Segor. The sun was risen upon the earth, and Lot entered into Segor. And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. And He overthrew those cities, and all the country round about.*" When I had concluded these citations, I said, "Do you not now, my friends, understand that one of these three who is both God and Lord, and ministers to Him in the heavens, is Lord of these two angels? for when they proceeded to Sodom, He was left behind, and held that conversation with Abraham, which is related by Moses: after which He went His way, and Abraham returned to his place. And when He came, the two angels no longer held conversation with Lot, but He Himself, as

Gen. 18, 33. 19, 1.

ver. 10.

ver. 16. to 26.

the Scripture shews, Who is also the Lord Who received it from the Lord in Heaven, that is, the Creator of the universe, to bring those judgments on Sodom and Gomorrah, which are recounted in Scripture thus, *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.*" Gen. 19, 24.

DIAL. TRYPH.

57. Said Trypho, when I ceased speaking, "Scripture apparently compels us so to confess; but you will yourself admit that we may well doubt about what is there written, that He ate of the meat that Abraham prepared and set before Him."

Did God the Son eat with Abraham?

I replied as follows. "It is written indeed that they ate, but if we read however that those three are said to have eaten, and not the two only, who were in fact angels, and are evidently nourished in heaven, even if they do not take the same kind of food as we men do: for of the manna which your fathers ate in the desert, Scripture says, *They did eat angels' food,* I would suggest, that the Scripture which speaks of their having eaten, may have the same meaning as when we say of fire, that it devours all things; but we are not to take it as if when they ate, they used their teeth, and masticated with their jaws, so that we shall find no difficulty in this passage, if we are at all skilled in figurative expressions." Ps. 78, 25.

Said Trypho, "it is possible that the difficulty may be thus remedied, as to the manner of eating, where in consuming what Abraham had prepared, it is written that they *ate.* Proceed therefore to prove to us how this God, Who was seen by Abraham, and was a minister of the God Who is Creator of the universe, was born of the Virgin, and made a man, as you say, of like passions with all of us." Then I answered, "First permit me, Trypho, to produce at large some other proofs under this head, that you may be thoroughly convinced of the truth of it, and then I will give you that statement which you require." Acts 14, 15.

"Be it as you please," he said; "and in pursuing this plan, you will do what is very agreeable to me."

58. Then I said, "I will cite the Scriptures to you without making any mere artificial display of arguments, for I have no such skill, for grace alone has been given me by God

The visions of Jacob.

JUST. MART. to understand His Scriptures; of which gift I beg that all will take the benefit, without reward and without grudging, that I may not on this account incur condemnation in the Judgment, which God the Creator of the world will hereafter hold through Jesus Christ our Lord."

"In this you act worthily," said Trypho, "of the service of God; but you appear to me to speak ironically, when you assert that you have no skill to employ the [1]arts of disputation."

[1] δύναμιν λόγων τεχνικῶν.

"If such appears to you to be the case," I replied, "be it so; but I am persuaded that it is as I have said. Give me your attention, however, that we may the better pursue our remaining proofs."

"Proceed," he said.

"Moses has written again," I continued, "that He Who was seen by the patriarchs, and Who is called God, is also termed Angel and Lord, in order that you may thus perceive Him to be a minister of the Father of the universe, as you have just confessed, in which opinion, when further convinced, you will remain firm. The word of God, then, by Moses, speaking of Jacob the grandson of Abraham, runs thus:

Gen. 31, 10-14. *And it came to pass at the time that the cattle conceived, I saw them with my eyes in my sleep, and behold the he-goats and rams which leaped upon the sheep and the goats were white-streaked, and speckled, and grizzled. And the Angel of God said unto me in my sleep, Jacob, Jacob. And I said, What is it, Lord? And He said, Lift up thine eyes, and see the he-goats and the rams which leap upon the sheep and she-goats are white-streaked, and speckled, and grizzled. For I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am the* [2]Bethel. *God which appeared unto thee in the place of God*[2]*, where thou anointedst to Me a pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow. Now therefore arise, and get thee out of this land, and return into the land of thy nativity, and I will be with thee.*

And again in another place it speaks thus of the same Jacob. Gen. 32, 22-31. *And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two women-servants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford Jaboc. And he took them, and sent them over the brook, and sent over all that he had. And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled an Angel with him, until the*

breaking of the day. But He saw that He prevailed not against him, and He touched the broad part of his thigh, and the broad part of Jacob's thigh was benumbed, as he wrestled with Him. And He said unto him, Let Me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let Thee go, except Thou bless me. And He said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And He said unto him, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall thy name be, for thou hast prevailed with God, and shalt be powerful with men. And Jacob asked Him, and said, Tell me Thy name. And He said, Wherefore is it that thou askest My name? And He blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of that place, The Vision of God[1]*. For I have seen God face to face, and my soul hath rejoiced.* And again in another place, speaking of the same Jacob, he says, *And Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan, that is, Bethel, he and all the people that were with him. And he built there an altar, and called the name of that place Bethel, because there God appeared unto him when he fled from the face of his brother Esau. But Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died, and she was buried beneath Bethel under the oak; and Jacob called the name of it, The oak of mourning. And God appeared to Jacob once more at Luz, when he came out of Mesopotamia of Syria, and blessed him; and said unto him, Thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name.*

DIAL. TRYPH.

[1] Peniel.

Gen. 35, 6—10.

"He is called God, and He is, and shall be, God." And when they all bowed their heads in assent, I said, "I consider it requisite to cite to you the passage of Scripture which declares, how when Jacob fled from his brother Esau, the same Angel, and God, and Lord, appeared to him, Who also appeared to Abraham in the form of a man, and afterwards wrestled with Jacob in the same form. It is this: *And Jacob went out from the well of the oath*[2]*, and went towards Charran: and he lighted on a certain place, and he slept there, because the sun was set. And he took of the stones of that place, and put them under his head, and he slept in that place, and dreamed. And, behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth, whose top reached to Heaven. And the angels of God ascended and descended upon it. And the Lord stood upon*

Gen. 32, 24. &c.

Gen. 28, 10—20.

[2] Beersheba.

JUST. MART. *it, and said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and of Isaac; fear not. The land whereon thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and shall be spread abroad to the sea, and to the south, and to the north, and to the east; and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And behold I will be with thee, and I will keep thee in all the way wherein thou shalt go, and will bring thee into this land: for I will not leave thee until I have done all those things which I have spoken to thee of. And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and said, The Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And Jacob called the name of that place, The house of God*[1]. *And Ulammaus*[d] *was the name of that city before.*"

[1] Bethel.

God, but not the Father, appeared to Moses.

59. When I had said this, "permit me now," I continued, "to prove to you from the book of Exodus, how the same Angel, and God, and Lord, and Man[2], Who appeared as man to Abraham and Jacob, also appeared to and conversed with Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush." And on their saying that they would without weariness gladly and readily listen to me, I added, "the following words are contained in the book of Exodus. *But then after a long time the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage.* And so on until you come to, *Go and gather the elders of Israel together, and thou shalt say unto them, The Lord God of your fathers hath appeared unto me, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, saying, I visit you with a visitation, and see what things have been done to you in Egypt.*" On which I said, "Do you perceive that He Whom Moses speaks of as an Angel, who conversed with him in the flame of fire, was God, and declares to him that He is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?"

[2] ἄνθρωπος.

Exod. 2, 23.

Exod. 3, 16.

Jewish view of Him who was seen in the bush.

60. "We do not understand this," said Trypho, "from the words you have cited, but that it was an Angel who appeared

[d] LXX. has, 'Ulam-Luz,' taking the preceding word as part of the name.

in the flame of fire, and God who conversed with Moses; so as that both an Angel and God, who were two Persons together, appeared in that vision." DIAL. TRYPH.

To which I replied, "Even if it be so, my friends, that both an Angel and God appeared together in that vision to Moses, yet, as has also been proved to you by the words before written, That God Who said to Moses that He was the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, will not be the Creator of the universe, but He who was proved to have appeared to Abraham and Jacob, who ministers to the will of the Creator of all things, and who in the judgment of Sodom also ministered to His counsel. So that even if there were two, as you say, an Angel and God, yet no one who has the least sense will venture to assert, that the Maker and Father of all things left those realms which are above the heavens, and appeared on a little spot of earth."

Said Trypho, "Since it has already been proved, that He who appeared to Abraham was called God and Lord, and, as He received it from the Lord of Heaven, brought destruction upon Sodom; even [if[e]] there were an Angel with the God who appeared to Moses, we shall understand that the God who spoke with Moses from the bush was not God the Creator of the Universe, but He who is proved to have been seen by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who is also termed and understood to be an Angel of the Creator, because He announces to men the will of the Father and Creator."

"I will now shew you, Trypho," I replied, "that in that vision He alone, who is both called an Angel and is God, was seen by and conversed with Moses; for thus says the Scripture, *And the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush: and he saw that the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will go and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he came to see, the Lord called unto him out of the midst of the bush.* Exod. 3, 2—4. As therefore the Scripture calls Him who appeared to Jacob in his dream, an Angel, and then declares that that very Angel who was then seen by him in that sleep, said, *I am the God who appeared to thee when thou fleddest from the face of thy* Gen. 35, 7.

[e] 'If' appears to be required by the sense, and is easily supplied here as Otto has done.

JUST. MART. *brother Esau;* and we read in the time of Abraham on the destruction of Sodom, *The Lord* brought this judgment *from the Lord in heaven:* so when the Scripture here says that an Angel of the Lord appeared to Moses, and afterwards declares that He is Lord and God, it means the same Person whom in many passages it points out to have ministered to the will of that God, Who is above the world, and to whom there is none superior.

Wisdom begotten of the Father.

61. "But, my friends," I continued, "I will produce another testimony from the Scriptures to prove, that as a [f]beginning before all creatures God begot of Himself a certain reasonable Power, which is also called by the Holy Ghost, the Glory of the Lord, at another time a Son, at another Wisdom, at another an Angel, at another God, and at another Lord and Word. He once calls Himself, *Captain of the host,* when He appeared to Joshua the son of Nun, in the form of man. For He has all these appellations, both from His ministering to the [1]will of the Father, and from His being begotten by [2]will[g] of the Father. But is not this like what we see in ourselves? For when we utter a word

Josh. 5, 14.

[1] βουλήματι. [2] θελήσει.

[f] ἀρχὴν, beginning, the word used in Prov. viii. 22. to which St. Justin refers, and which he soon proceeds to cite at length. The Benedictine says, that St. Justin is not to be understood of the eternal generation of the Son, but of that by which the Father is said to have begotten Him before the Creation as the beginning of all things. Aquila, he observes, uses for ἀρχὴν the word κεφάλαιον, and he cites St. Athenagoras, Apol. 10. Tertullian against Hermogenes, chap. 18. and against Praxeas, chap. 6. St. Irenæus, book 4. chap. 20. §. 3. and St. Ambrose on Psalm cx. and de Fide, book 5. for assertions of the same kind. See note on the Nicene Anathema, πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν· Library of the Fathers, vol. viii. p. 272. where it is shewn, that the συγκατάβασις (condescension) of the Son for the work of creation is not properly or usually called His generation. Even here, the word 'begot' is used without any thing to fix its meaning to such a sense. Where that sense is clear, the word 'created' is used, which is only applicable to the Son in a sense relative to the creation, not in His own essence, in respect of which it is clear that the terms Only-Begotten, and the like, belong to Him. Bp. Bull appears at least to have strained the point in making the Nicene Fathers say, 'He was before He was begotten.' But it is true that some early Fathers use language with regard to the going forth of the Word to creation, which may be misapplied to the generation of the Son.

[g] This way of speaking was afterward abused to purposes of heterodoxy, as an act of will, such as other acts of will, would be an act of creation. It can only be understood rightly of an essential act, done therefore from eternity and to eternity, God ever willing to be as He is. See St. Athanasius, Disc. iii. against Arians, §. 1. Oxf. Trans. p. 485, 6. and notes d, e, f, g, h. Petavius would allow a priority of *idea* to the will of the Father in the Divine generation, but the phrase 'concurrent will' is used by St. Cyril and others without this refinement, as excluding the notion of antecedent purpose, and generation in time. Many passages of different Fathers are collected and discussed by Petav. De Trin. l. vi. cap. viii. §. 8. and following. Below in §. 76, S. Justin may speak only of our Lord's human Birth.

we beget it, but not by division, so as to lessen the word that is in us when we utter it; and as we see one fire kindled from another, without that from which it is kindled being diminished, which in fact continues the same, whilst that which is kindled from it does really exist and shine with no diminution of that from which it is kindled. But the Word of Wisdom shall testify for me, this Same who is God begotten from the Father of all things[h], and the Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Glory of Him who begot Him, and who spoke thus by Solomon; *If I shall tell you those things that are daily done, and shall reckon up those things that were done from everlasting. The Lord created me the beginning, His way unto His works*[i]. *He set me up from everlasting in the beginning, before He made the earth, and before He created the depths, before the fountains of water issued forth, before the mountains were settled; before all the hills, He begets me. God made the earth, and the desert, and the highest places which are inhabited under heaven. When He prepared the heavens, I was with Him: and when He fixed His throne upon the winds; when He established the clouds above; and when He strengthened the fountains of the deep; when He appointed the foundations of the earth, I was with Him, putting all things in their proper places: I was that in which He delighted: and I did always rejoice before Him; when He rejoiced for having finished the habitable world, and rejoiced with the sons of men. Now therefore, my son, hearken unto me: blessed is the man that shall hear me, and the man that shall keep my ways, watching*[l] *daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors, for my ways are the ways of life: and will hath been prepared of the Lord*[k]. *But they that sin against me are wicked towards their own souls, and they that hate me love death.*

Dial. Tryph.

Prov. 8, 21. &c.

[l] ὑπνῶν, for which is rightly substituted ἀγρυπνῶν.

62. "And the Word of God, my friends, declares

'Let Us make man,' implies the same.

[h] Ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθείς. Ben. observes here, that "St. Justin uses the word ἀπὸ, 'from' and not ὑπὸ, 'by,' to shew that the substance of the Son is begotten from that of the Father. The illustrations of fire kindled from fire, and the Word of God resembling that of man, are suitable to the same doctrine." St. Justin returns elsewhere to the subject, see §. 128. where he asserts the distinct Personality of the Son, as in §. 11. the Unity of God, which was common ground with Trypho.

[i] So the Mss; but probably it should be, '*the Beginning of His ways unto His works*,' as in §. 129.

[k] i. e. the objects of our wishes are obtained from the Lord. Conf. Schleus. in verb. θέλησις.

Just. Mart. precisely the same thing by Moses also, indicating to us that God was speaking to the very same purport[1], at the creation of man, of Him, Whom [1]He manifested when He says thus, *Let Us make man in Our Image, and after Our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man; in the Image of God created He him, male and female created He them. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and have dominion over it.*

[1] Ἐδήλωσε. Gen. 1, 26—28.

"But that you may not pervert the meaning of these words, by urging what your teachers tell you, that God either said, *Let Us make,* to Himself, as *we* often do when on the point of setting about something, or to the elements, that is, the earth, and those other substances of which we think that man is composed; I will recount the words of Moses himself, from which we may be assured indisputably, that He spoke to One different in number from Himself, and Who was possessed of reason: they are as follows: *And God said, Behold Adam is become as one of Us, to know good and evil;* but the words, *one of Us,* shew a number of Persons to be mutually present, that is, two at the least; for I cannot think that to be true which is taught by what is considered by yourselves to be a heresy, or that its propagators are able to prove that He spoke to angels, and that the human body is the work of angels; but this Offspring which truly was put forth from the Father, was with the Father before all the creation, and to Him the Father speaks: as the Word hath declared by Solomon, saying, that this Offspring, who is called Wisdom by Solomon, was begotten, both as a beginning before all His works, and an offspring by God. Who in the revelation which was made to Joshua the son of Nun, declared the same truth. But that what I say may even thus be fully proved to you, listen to these words from the book of Joshua; *And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lift up his eyes, and saw a Man standing over against him; and Joshua went unto Him*

Gen. 3, 22.

Josh. 5, 13—15. 6, 1. 2.

[1] Ben. supposes that it is meant, that the Word is made mention of as the Beginning, in Gen. i. 1. otherwise he would read ἐδήλωσα, The Word of whom I made mention.

and said, Art Thou for us, or for our adversaries? And He said, As Captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto Him, What dost thou command my Lord unto Thy servant? And he Captain of the Lord said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. Now Jericho was straitly shut up, and made fast, and none went out of it. And the Lord said unto Joshua, Behold, I give into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour."

That God the Word took flesh.

63. Said Trypho, "You prove this both forcibly and at length, my friend; proceed now to shew that He condescended to be made man through the Virgin, according to the will of the Father, and to be crucified, and to die; and prove that He afterwards rose again, and ascended into heaven."

"This," I said, "has been already proved, sirs, by the aforecited passages of the Prophets, which I will again repeat and explain for you, to endeavour to bring you to agree with me in this respect. Do not those words then of Isaiah, *Who shall declare His generation? for His life is taken away from the earth,* appear to you as if spoken of one who had not His generation of men; I mean, of Him Who for the sins of His people is said to have been delivered by God to death; of whose blood Moses also, as I have already stated, said in a parable, *He shall wash His robe in the blood of the grape;* as if His blood were not engendered of human seed, but of the will of God? and the words spoken by David, *In the beauties of Thy saints, from the womb have I begotten Thee, before the morning star. The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* do they not signify that God and the Father of all things should beget Him again[1], and of a human womb? And He says in other words which have been cited already, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a sceptre of righteousness. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore*

Gen. 49, 11.

Ps. 110, 3. 4.

Ps. 45, 6. &c.

[1] ἄνωθεν, which Ben. explains 'from the beginning:' but then it should be καὶ ἄνωθεν, otherwise the future is inapplicable. For the Greek word in this sense, see S. John iii. 3.

JUST. MART. *God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows. Myrrh, precious gum, and cassia from Thy garments, from the ivory palaces whereby they have made Thee glad. Kings' daughters were in thine honour; upon Thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about of divers colours. Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house. And the King shall desire thy beauty; for He is thy Lord, and thou shalt worship Him.* That He is to be worshipped, and is God, and Christ, witnessed by him who composed these sayings, the above words plainly declare. And that the Word addresses those who believe in Him, Who are one soul, one synagogue, and one Church, as a daughter—the Church, namely, that is constituted by and partaker of His name, (for we are all called Christians,)—the following words, which teach us to forget even our forefathers' ancient ways, signify with equal plainness; they are as follows: *Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear, and forget thine own people, and thy father's house; and the King shall desire thy beauty, for He is thy Lord, and thou shalt worship Him.*"

Ps. 45, 10. 11.

Christ needed by Jews.

64. "Grant Him," replied Trypho, "to be, as the Scriptures declare, the Lord, and Christ, and God, of you Gentiles, who also are, all of you, termed Christians from His name, yet His confession and worship are not incumbent on us, who are the servants of the God Who created Him."

"If I were as contentious and as vain as yourself, Trypho," I replied, "I should not have continued in conversation with you so long, as you do not endeavour to understand what I say, but only strain your faculties to make some reply; but now, as I dread the judgment of God, I will make no rash assertions about any one of your nation, as to whether or not he is of the number of those who, by the grace of the Lord of Hosts, may be saved. Whence, although you cavil unfairly, I will proceed to reply to whatever you advance or oppose; this indeed I do for those of any nation who wish to seek my opinion, or make enquiries of me on these subjects. You might have gathered from those passages of Scripture which I have cited, had

you given your attention to them, that such of your nation as shall be saved, will be saved through Him, and are of His portion, in which case you would not have made any enquiries of me on this point. I will now repeat the words of David which I have already cited, and I entreat you to direct your attention to understanding them, and not to unfair cavilling, and raising objections against them; they are as follows: *The Lord hath reigned; let the people be angry: He sitteth above the cherubims; let the earth be moved. The Lord is great in Sion, and high above all people. Let them confess Thy great name, for it is terrible and holy; and the King's honour loveth judgment. Thou hast prepared equity: Thou hast executed judgment and righteousness in Jacob. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at His footstool; for He is holy. Moses and Aaron among His priests; and Samuel among them that call upon His name. They called upon the Lord, and He heard them. He spake unto them in the pillar of cloud; for they kept His testimonies, and the ordinance which He gave them.* And there are other passages of David which I have previously cited, which, because they are inscribed to Solomon, you foolishly assert to have been spoken of him, although from the words themselves it is plain that they were not spoken of Solomon, because their subject was before the sun, and those of your nation who are to be saved will be saved through Him. These are the words: *Give the King Thy judgment, O God, and Thy righteousness unto the King's Son. He shall judge Thy people with righteousness, and Thy poor with judgment. Let the mountains take up peace unto the people, and the little hills righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people: He shall save the children of the needy, and shall humble the false accuser; and He shall remain as long as the sun, and before the moon, from generation to generation:* and so on until the following: *His name remaineth before the sun, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed through Him: all nations shall call Him blessed. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, Who only doth wondrous things, and blessed be the name of His glory for ever and ever: and all the earth shall be filled with His glory. Amen, Amen.* And in other words of David, which I have already cited, it is also stated, that He should come

DIAL. TRYPH.

Ps. 99, 1—8.

Ps. 72, 1—5.

v. 17-19.

JUST. MART. down from the highest heavens and return again to the same place, that you may be assured that God has come down from above, and has been made man among men, and that the Same will come again, when they who pierced Him shall look upon Him and lament. They are as follows:

Ps. 19, 1—6. *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy-work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night proclaimeth knowledge. There is neither speech nor language, whose voices are not heard. Their sound is gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. In the sun hath He set His tabernacle; and He as a bridegroom coming out of His chamber, shall rejoice as a giant to run His course. His going forth is from the end of heaven, and His circuit unto the end of it; and there is nothing that shall be hid from the heat thereof.*"

God's glory still not given to another. Is. 42 8. 65. To this Trypho replied thus: "I am so overwhelmed by so many passages of Scripture, that I know not what to say of that of Isaiah, in which God declares that He will give His glory to no other, saying, *I am the Lord God; that is My Name; and My glory and My powers I will not give to another.*"

"If," I replied, "you stopped in this citation in simplicity, and with no bad faith, so as not to recount what precedes, or add what follows, you are excusable, but if you did so from thinking yourself able to bring our conversation into a difficulty, and to force me to assert that the Scriptures contradict one another, you are in error: for I will never venture either to think or to say such a thing. But if there is any Scripture which can be urged as appearing to be contrary to some other, for I am persuaded that such is never really the case, I would rather confess that I do not understand its meaning; and I should labour to persuade those who undertake to prove the contradictoriness of the Scriptures, to embrace the same opinion. How you meant the citation which you have made, God knows; but I will recall it to your memory as it was spoken, that so you may be sure, from this very passage, that God gives His glory to His Christ alone; and I will add, sirs, a few of the words that precede and follow those which Trypho has quoted: I will not produce those of a different section, but such only

as are united together in one, and do you give me your attention: they are as follows: *Thus saith the Lord God, Who made the Heaven, and established it; Who founded the earth, and all that is therein, and gave breath to the people upon it, and a spirit to them that walk on it. I the Lord Thy God have called Thee in righteousness, and I will hold Thine hand, and will make Thee strong. And I have given Thee for a covenant of the people; for a Light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house. I am the Lord God, That is My Name: My glory will I not give to another, neither My powers to graven images. Things which were from the beginning, behold they are come to pass: they are new things which I declare; and before they are declared have been made manifest to you. Sing unto the Lord a new song; His power is from the end of the earth. Ye that go down to the sea, and sail therein, the isles, and the inhabitants thereof. Rejoice, O wilderness, and the cities thereof, and the villages, the inhabitants of Kedar shall rejoice, and the inhabitants of the rock shall shout from the top of the mountains; they shall give glory to God; they shall declare His power in the islands. The Lord of Hosts shall go forth; He shall tread down war; He shall stir up jealousy, and He shall cry against His enemies with strength.*" DIAL. TRYPH. Is. 42, 5—14.

When I had concluded, I said, "Do you understand, my friends, that God says, that He will give His glory to Him Whom He has made to be a light to the Gentiles, and to no other: and not as Trypho says, that He will keep it to Himself?" Said Trypho, "We understand this also; proceed therefore to the rest of your discourse."

66. Then I continued my conversation, from whence I at first digressed[1], shewing that He was to be born of a Virgin, and that Isaiah had foretold that He should be so, whose prophecy I repeated. It is as follows: *And the Lord spake unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God, in the depth, or in the height above. And Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And Isaiah said, Hear ye now, O house of David; is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Where-* Christ's birth of a Virgin foretold. [1] §. 43. Is. 7, 10—16.

JUST. MART. *fore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign. Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel. Butter and honey shall He eat, before He shall know either to refuse the evil or choose the good: for before the Child shall know evil or good, He shall refuse the* Is. 8, 4. *evil and choose the good. For before the Child shall know to call father or mother, He shall take away the strength of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria before the king of* Is. 7, 16. 17. *Assyria. And the land which*[m] *thou abhorrest shall be taken from before both her kings: but God shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not yet come upon thee, from the day that He took away Ephraim from Judah, even the king of Assyria.* Then I added, that among the descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, no one was ever born of a virgin, nor said to have been so, except only this our Christ, as is plain to every one.

Trypho's objections and questions. 67. To this Trypho replied, "The Scripture does not say, 'Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son,' but, 'Behold, a young woman shall conceive, and bring forth a Son:' what follows being as you have cited it; and the

The Law proved needless whole prophecy was spoken of Hezekiah, to whom subsequent events befel in agreement with it. And as in the fables of the Greeks it is related how Perseus was born of Danae, who was a virgin, he whom they call Jupiter, showering on[1] her in the form of gold; you, who state the same things as these men, ought to be ashamed of yourselves, and should rather confess this Jesus to be a man born of men; and if you can shew from the Scriptures that He is the Christ, assert that He was held worthy of being chosen to be such, from His having lived according to the law and perfectly[2], but do not venture to utter your present marvels, lest you be convicted of mere folly, like the Greeks."

[1] ῥεύσαντος.

[2] §. 49.

To which I replied, "I would have you, Trypho, and all men, convinced of this, namely, that even if you deride and mock me, and say even worse things against me than these, you will not move me from my resolution; but from those very words and facts which you think to bring forward to confute me will I construct, with the testimony of the Scriptures, the proof of all that I have asserted. But you

[m] The reading is restored from the former quotation, §. 43.

do not act uprightly, nor as a lover of the truth, when you endeavour to destroy those arguments on which we have hitherto mutually agreed, namely, that some of the Mosaic commandments were given because of the hardness of your nation's hearts; for you said, that it was because of His having lived strictly according to the Law that He was chosen to be the Christ, if indeed He can be proved to be Christ at all." DIAL. TRYPH.

"You confessed," said Trypho, "that He was circumcised, and kept the other ordinances of the Law which are laid down by Moses." "I confessed it," I said, "and I continue to do so; but I did not say that He underwent all these rites, as if He were justified by them; but that He might fulfil that dispensation according to the will of His Father, Who is the Creator of all things, and Lord and God. I also confess, that He condescended to be made man, and to die on the Cross, and to suffer all that your nation inflicted on Him. But since, Trypho, you now dissent from the assertions to which you previously agreed, tell me whether those just men and Patriarchs before Moses, who kept none of those ordinances which the Scripture proves to have been first instituted and ordained by Moses, have salvation in the inheritance of the blessed, or not?"

"The Scriptures," he replied, "compel me to confess that they have."

"I will ask you again," I said, "If God ordered your fathers to offer their oblations and sacrifices because He had need of them, or because of their hardness of heart, and proneness to idolatry?"

"The Scriptures," he answered, "compel me to answer the latter also."

"And have those Scriptures also foretold that God had promised to make a new covenant, beside the one which He made at Mount Horeb?"

He said, "They have."

"Was not that ancient covenant delivered to your fathers with such fear and trembling, that they were unable to listen to God?"

"It was," he said.

"Why then did God," said I, "promise another covenant, which should be established, unlike the former, without

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fear, and trembling, and lightnings; and which should shew what kind of a command and work God knew to be fitting as perpetual, and adapted to the needs of all men on the one hand, and yet what kind of an one He ordered as in accordance with your people's hearts, as He hath also proclaimed by the Prophets, on the other?"

Exod. 19, 16; Jer. 31, 31. 32; Heb. 12, 18. 21.

"Those," said Trypho, "who are lovers of truth and not contention, must necessarily agree to this in all particulars."

"I know not," said I, "how you can accuse others of being lovers of contention, whilst you have so often shewn yourself to be such in this discussion, frequently contradicting what you had previously assented to."

Bad faith of the Jews.

68. "Because," said Trypho, "you undertake to prove a thing which is incredible and almost impossible, that God condescended to be born, and to be made man."

"If," I replied, "I had endeavoured to prove this by human doctrines or arguments, you ought not to endure me; but if I have continually recited so many passages of Scripture to this very effect, and entreated you to understand them, you are but hard of heart as to knowing and understanding the mind and will of God. But if you determine always to remain the same, I shall thereby suffer no injury, but I shall always hold what I did before I began to converse with you, and shall leave you."

"Consider, my friend," said Trypho, "that you gained these opinions with much labour and trouble, and it is right that we should first test all that is proposed to us, and then should assent to whatever Scripture requires."

"I do not wish," I replied, "that you should not take every pains to examine into the subjects of our discussion, but do not, when you have nothing else to offer, contradict what you before declared your assent to."

"We will endeavour," said Trypho, "to do as you say."

"In addition to the questions," said I, "which I have already proposed, I now wish to ask you a few others, for by these means I shall endeavour, without loss of time, to conclude this discussion."

"Ask them then," said he.

"Do you think that there is any other to be worshipped,

and called Lord and God in Scripture, except Him Who created this Universe, and Christ, Who has been proved by so many passages of Scripture to have been made man?" DIAL. TRYPH.

"How," said Trypho, "can we say such a thing, since we have held so long a discussion, as to whether there is any other God except the Father alone?"

"It is necessary," I said, "for me to ask you even this, that I may know whether your opinion is different to that which you have already admitted?"

He said it was not.

"As then," I said, "you really agree to this, and to the Scripture which says, *Who shall declare His generation,* ought you not to understand that He is not of human generation?" Is.53,8.

"How then," he asked, "does the Scripture say by David, that of his loins would God take to Himself a Son, and confirm the kingdom to Him, and place Him upon the throne of His glory?"

"If this prophecy of Isaiah, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive,* was not spoken to the house of David," I replied, "but to some other house of the twelve tribes, the matter might perhaps admit of doubt; but since it was spoken to the house of David, that which was spoken to David himself by God in mystery, was explained, as to the manner of its coming to pass, by Isaiah: unless you are ignorant, my friends," I said, "that many of those sayings which were spoken darkly, and in parables, or mysteries, or by symbolic actions, were explained by the Prophets who came after those who spoke or cited them." 1 Chron. 17.11. 12.13. 14. &c.

"Certainly," said Trypho.

"If then I prove to you, that this prophecy of Isaiah was spoken of this Christ of ours, and not, as you say, of Hezekiah, shall I not make you ashamed of believing your teachers in this point, who presume to affirm, that the translation which your seventy elders made in the time of Ptolemy the king of Egypt, is in some respects untrue? for whatever in the Scriptures appears to be in plain contradiction to their foolish and conceited opinion, they presume to say was not written so; and whatever they can pervert to a supposed adaptation to human affairs, such they affirm

JUST. MART. to have been written not of our Jesus Christ, but of him of whom they undertake to interpret them. The passage in question, for instance, they teach you to have been spoken of Hezekiah, in which, as I have said, I will shew that they utter a falsehood; but the Scriptures which we allege to them, and which plainly speak of Christ as about to suffer and be worshipped, and as God, and which I have already cited to you, they are compelled to admit to have been indeed spoken of Christ, but they venture to assert that ours is not the Christ, although they confess that He shall come, and suffer, and reign, and be worshipped as God; which I will also prove to be ridiculous and senseless. But as I am first compelled to answer to what you have urged in the way of ridicule; to this I will first direct my reply, and afterwards offer some proof of the remaining questions.

Heathen fables imitations of truth.

69. "Be well assured then, Trypho," I continued, "that the very things which he who is called 'the devil' did in semblance of the truth, to be related by the Greeks, (as he did also by the Egyptian magicians, and by the false prophets in the time of Elias,) have fixed in me a firm knowledge and belief of the Scriptures; for when they say, that Bacchus, the son of Jupiter, was begotten of the connexion which he held with Semele, and that he was the discoverer of the vine; and that when he was torn in pieces and killed, he rose again, and ascended into heaven; in memory of which they introduce wine[m] in their mysteries; do not I see
Gen. 49, 11. that he has imitated that prophecy of the Patriarch Jacob, which I have already cited, and which is recorded by Moses? and when they make mention of Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmene, as strong, and going all round the world, then dying and ascending into heaven, do I not perceive
Ps. 19, 5. that this Scripture, in which it is said of Christ, *Mighty as a giant to run His course*, is imitated in like manner? And when he introduces Æsculapius raising the dead, and healing other ills, do I not maintain, that he has in this also imitated

[m] The Mss. read *οἶνος* in the text, but have *ὄνος* (an ass) written in the margin, a reading which is followed by Grabe, Otto, and others, but against which the Benedictine protests both here, and also in the parallel passage of the first Apology, §. 54. The Ben. editor considers, that, although an ass was sacred to Bacchus, *οἶνος* agrees best with the context of both passages. The other reading, however, bears a good sense.

the prophecies about Christ? But as I have produced no passage of Scripture which shews that Christ should do these things, I am compelled to remind you of one, from which you may perceive how the Scripture foretold even to those who were destitute of the knowledge of God,—I speak of the Gentiles who had eyes and saw not, hearts and understood not, and who worshipped images wrought out of matter,—that they should renounce these idolatries, and put their trust in this Christ. It is thus said, *Be glad, O thirsty wilderness, let the desert rejoice, and blossom as the lily: and the solitary places of Jordan shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice. And the glory of Libanus hath been given unto it, and the excellency of Carmel. And my people shall see the excellency of the Lord, and the glory of God. Be ye strengthened, ye weak hands and feeble knees. Be comforted, ye fearful in heart; be strong, fear not. Behold, our God recompenseth, and will recompense judgment; He will come and save us. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall speak plain; because water hath broken out in the wilderness, and a stream in a thirsty land, and the parched ground shall become as pools, and in the thirsty land there shall be a spring of water.*

Dial. Tryph. Is. 35, 1—8.

"The fountain of living water which gushed out from God in a land destitute of the knowledge of God, namely, the land of the Gentiles, was this Christ, Who appeared even in your nation, and healed those who were from their birth, and according to the flesh, blind, and deaf, and lame, by His word, making one to leap, another to hear, another to see: raising the dead, and restoring them to life; and urging the men of those times by His works to acknowledge Him.

"But they who saw these actions considered them to be a magic phantasy, and presumed to call Him a magician and deluder of the people: but He did these things in order to persuade those, who were afterwards to believe in Him, that if any who was afflicted with a personal blemish should observe the doctrines which He delivered to them,

JUST. MART. He would raise him up whole at His second coming, and make him free from death, corruption, and pain.

The mysteries of Mithra. 70. "And when they who teach the traditions of the mysteries of Mithras say that he was born of a rock, and call the place a cave in which they are accustomed to initiate his disciples, do I not see that they imitate the saying Dan. 2, 34. of Daniel, *A stone was cut out of a great mountain without hands?* and the same in like manner with Isaiah, all of whose [1] the evil spirits. words they have endeavoured to imitate: for they[1] have contrived that discourses of righteousness in action should be uttered even by these. But it is necessary for me to cite to you the words of Isaiah, that you may know from Is. 33, 13—20. them that this is so. They are, *Hear ye that are far off what I have done; and they that are near shall acknowledge my might. The sinners in Zion have revolted. Fearfulness shall seize the wicked. Who shall discover to you the everlasting place? He that walketh righteously, that speaketh uprightly, that hateth iniquity and unrighteousness, and keepeth his hands clean from bribes; that stoppeth his ears from hearing the unjust judyment of blood, that shutteth his eyes from seeing unrighteousness; he shall dwell in the high cave of the strong rock. Bread shall be given him, and his water shall be sure. Ye shall see the King in His glory, and your eyes shall behold afar off. Your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord. Where is the scribe? where are the prudent? where is he that counteth those that are nourished, the small and great people? With whom they have not consulted, neither have they known the deepness of their voice, so that they might not hear. A despicable people whom he that hears cannot understand.*

"It is plain that this prophecy speaks of the bread which [2] ποιεῖν. our Christ gave us to offer[2], in commemoration of His having taken flesh in behalf of those who believe in Him, for whose sake He also suffered; and of the cup which He [3] Εὐχαριστοῦντας. directed us to offer in the Eucharist[3], for a remembrance of His blood.

"That we shall see this King with glory this prophecy declares, and its words assert that a people which was foreknown as hereafter about to believe in Him, should

cultivate the fear of the Lord; and the same prophecy has also loudly affirmed, that they who are considered to be acquainted with the Scriptures, and who listen to the Prophets, have no understanding of them. But when I hear, Trypho, I said, of Perseus having been born of a Virgin, I know that this is also a fabrication of that deceiver the serpent. DIAL. TRYPH.

71. "But I differ from your teachers, who do not allow, that the translation of the seventy Elders in the time of Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, was well done, and endeavour to make a translation[o] themselves. And I would have you know, that they have wholly removed many passages from the version made by those Elders that were with Ptolemy, by which it was plainly proved, that He who was crucified, was foretold as God, and man, and as about to suffer death on the cross; but as I know that your whole nation denies these, I will not enter on such questions; but I proceed to direct my investigation to those which are still admitted by you. All that I have produced hitherto, you have acknowledged, except that you oppose the words, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive,* and affirm that it is said, *Behold,* a young woman *shall conceive;* and I have undertaken to prove, that this prophecy was not spoken of Hezekiah, as you were taught, but of my Christ; and of this I will afford proof." The Septuagint.

Trypho replied, "First, I entreat you to inform us of some of those passages, which you affirm to have been wholly suppressed."

72. "I will do," I answered, "as you wish. From the following explanation which Esdras made on the law of the Passover, they have erased this passage; *And Esdras said to the people, This Passover is our Saviour and refuge; and if you have understood, and it has entered into your hearts, that we are about to humble Him on a standard*[p]*, and afterwards if we trust in Him, this place shall not be desolate for ever, saith the God of Hosts: but if you believe Him not, nor* Passages from Esdras and Jeremiah suppressed by the Jews.

[o] Ed. Ben. observes, that this does not mean a new translation of the whole of the Old Testament, but only of certain passages, as it is evident from the next sentence, that the LXX Version remained in use amongst Jews who spoke Greek.

[p] Ἐν σημείῳ. Which St. Justin doubtless understood of the Cross. See Apol. i. §. 60. p. 45.

JUST. MART. *listen to His teaching, you shall be a laughingstock of the Gentiles*[q]*:* and from Jeremiah, they have removed the following; *I was like a guileless lamb that was brought to be sacrificed: they devised devices against Me, saying, Come, let us cast a tree into His bread, and let us cut Him off from the land of the living, and let His Name be no more remembered.* And as this passage of Jeremiah is still found in some copies in the Jewish Synagogue, (for it was erased not long ago,) since it is proved even by these words that the Jews took counsel together about this Christ to put Him to death by crucifixion, and He is spoken of, as was foretold by Isaiah, as led like a sheep to the slaughter, and is here shewn to be like a guileless lamb: they are by these passages reduced to such a difficulty, that they proceed to blaspheme Him. And from the writings of Jeremiah in like manner, they have removed the following; *The Lord God remembered His dead from Israel that slept in the earth of the sepulchre, and He came down to them to preach His Salvation*[r].

Jerem. 11, 19.

Words suppressed in Ps. 96.

73. "And from the ninety-sixth Psalm of David they have erased the few words, *From the wood;* for the passage which said, *Tell it among the heathen, the Lord hath reigned from the wood*[s]*:* they have reduced to, *Tell it among the heathen, that the Lord hath reigned.* But it was never said of any one of your nation, that he has reigned as God and King over the heathen, except of this Man alone, Who was crucified, Whom also the Holy Ghost, in the same Psalm, states to have been saved by His resurrection, declaring that He does not resemble the gods of the heathen, for they are idols of devils. But that you may understand what is said, I will recite the whole Psalm to you; it is as follows; *O sing unto the Lord a new song, sing unto the Lord all the whole earth: sing unto the Lord, and bless His Name; shew forth His salvation from day to day; declare*

Ps. 96.

[q] This passage is also given by Lactantius, with a few verbal alterations, in the 18th chap. of the 4th Book of his Institutes. The Editors are unable to say whence it comes.

[r] "St. Irenæus cites the same passage, book iii. chap. 20. where he ascribes it to Isaiah; but in the 22d chap. of his 4th book he repeats it, and gives it, like St. Justin above, to Jeremiah." It is not found any where in our text. Bened. and Otto in loc.

[s] Ed. Ben. observes, that the Latin Fathers use this passage much, but the Greek do not quote it, unless perhaps St. Barnabas, cap. 8. may allude to it, and possibly Celsus, as quoted by Origen, b. vi. p. 298. 'but every where there it is the Tree of Life, and resurrection from the Tree.'

His glory among the heathen, and His wonders among all people. For the Lord is great, and greatly to be praised; DIAL. TRYPH. *He is to be feared above all gods: for all the gods of the heathen are devils, but the Lord made the heavens; thanksgiving and beauty are before Him: holiness and magnificence are in His sanctuary. Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people, ascribe unto the Lord glory and honour; ascribe unto the Lord the glory due unto His name. Bring offerings, and enter into His courts. Worship the Lord in His holy sanctuary. Let the whole earth be moved before His face. Tell it among the heathen, The Lord hath reigned*[t]. *For He hath made the world so fast that it shall not be moved: He shall judge the people righteously. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad. Let the sea be moved, and the fulness thereof. The fields shall rejoice, and all that therein is. All the trees of the wood shall rejoice before the Lord: for He cometh, for He cometh to judge the earth. He shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with His truth.*"

Trypho then said, "Whether our rulers have taken away any thing from the Scriptures, as you assert, God knows, but such a thing appears incredible."

"Incredible indeed," I said. "It is more horrible than the making of the calf, which they did when filled with manna upon earth, and than sacrificing their children to devils, or than their slaughter of the Prophets. But you appear to me," I said, "not to have heard those Scriptures which I have mentioned as having been suppressed by them; but those many passages which have been already cited, together with others which you have retained, and which I will now repeat to you, are more than sufficient to prove the points in question."

74. Said Trypho, "We know that you cited them for our sakes and at our desire; but that Psalm which you last quoted from David does not appear to me to be spoken of any other than the Father Who made the heavens and the earth; but you assert that it applies to Him Who has been

Explanation of Ps. 96.

[t] Ben. remarks that St. Justin probably here inserted the words, "*from the wood.*"

JUST. MART. subject to sufferings, and Whom you endeavour to prove to be Christ."

"Attend to me," I said, "I beseech you, as I repeat the very words which the Holy Ghost has used in this Psalm, and you will see that I have not spoken erroneously, and that we[u] are not, in truth, beguiled; and thus you may be able when by yourselves to understand many other of the sayings of the Holy Ghost. *O sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord all the whole earth. Sing unto the Lord, and bless His name. Shew forth His salvation from day to day, His wonders among all people.* Thus He commands those throughout the whole earth who know this mystery of salvation, that is the sufferings of Christ, through which He saved them, to sing and praise the Father of all things unceasingly; knowing that He is worthy of praise, and is terrible, and is the Maker of heaven and earth, Who ordained this salvation for the race of man, namely, Him Who, after His crucifixion and death, was held worthy by Him even of reigning over the whole world[x]. . . . *Of the land into which he enters; and they will forsake Me, and break My*

Ps. 96, 1—3.

Deut. 31, 16—18.

[u] The Mss. have 'ye,' but Ben. shews by reference to §. 9. that it should be 'we.'

[x] The first day's Dialogue appears to end and the second day's to begin at or about this passage, because in §. 78. St. Justin alludes to what he had said yesterday, and there is no break between this section and that, but all is continuous. The question then is, how much of the Dialogue is here lost? Most of the commentators suppose the hiatus to be considerable, but the Benedictine thinks that a few words are all that is wanting; 1st, because St. Justin is still occupied with the digression on the words of Isaiah vii. 14. '*Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son,*' begun at §. 66. And 2d, because he conceives the quotations from Deuteronomy xxxi. in §. 74. and Exodus xxiii. in §. 75, to form part of the same argument, the whole concluding in §. 76, with the assertion of St. Justin, that Christ was foretold as about to suffer, and afterwards to reign. He proposes to restore the mutilated passage as follows: "Christ was held worthy by Him even of reigning over the whole world, as appears from the land into which He promised to lead your fathers, for He spoke thus: "This people will go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land whither they go to be among them, and will forsake Me," &c.

These reasons, especially the first, are not without weight, but, on the other hand, it would scarcely appear probable that St. Justin would have given no indication whatever of the point at which the first day's conference ended, and that of the second day began, but have left each of his readers to find it out for himself as he best could.

Experience has proved the uselessness of attempting to supply exactly what is lost, but it appears probable, to speak generally, that the omission may have consisted of the conclusion of the first day's discussion, of the renewal of the conversation and return to the subject in hand next morning, and of a few words to connect the passage from Deuteronomy with what had been said immediately before; the whole of which might have been comprised in about half a section.

covenant, which I made with them in that day. And I will forsake them, and I will hide My face from them; and there shall be a devouring, and they shall find there many evils and tribulations. And one shall say in that day, These evils are come upon me, because the Lord my God is not amongst us. And I will surely hide My face from them in that day, for all the evils which they have wrought, in that they have turned unto other gods." DIAL. TRYPH.

End of first day's conference.

75. "And in the book of Exodus it is mystically signified by Moses, as we also know, that the name of God, which he says was not revealed to Abraham nor to Jacob, was Jesus; for it is thus written, *And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto this people, Behold, I send My Angel before thy face, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Observe Him, and obey His voice; do not rebel against Him, for He will not pardon thee, for My name is in Him.* Who was it that brought your fathers into the land? Consider now at length that he who received the additional title of Jesus[1] [Joshua], was before called Auses [Hoshea[y]]; for if you comprehend this, you will also soon perceive, that the name of Him Who said to Moses, *My name is in Him*, was Jesus. For He was also called Israel, and He changed Jacob's name to the same. But that the Prophets who are sent by God to proclaim His will are called the Angels and Apostles of God, is shewn in Isaiah; for Isaiah says, *Send me*[3]; and that he whose name was changed to Joshua was a great and mighty prophet, is plain to all. If therefore we know that God has appeared in so many forms to that[z] Abraham, and to Jacob, and to Moses, how can we doubt and disbelieve that, according to the will of the Father of all things, He could be made man also of the Virgin, and especially when we have so many passages of Scripture, from which we may plainly perceive, that this has been according to the will of the Father. Name of Jesus Divine. Exod. 23, 20. 21. Ἰησοῦς, Sept. Exodus 3, 21. 3 vi. 8.

76. "And when Daniel calls Him who received the Eternal Messiah proved Divine.

[y] Joshua, before he was chosen to spy out the promised land, was called Oshea, but Moses then changed his name to Joshua or Jehoshua, Greek Jesus. Numbers 13, 16. Acts 7, 47. Hebrews 4, 8. And see §. 113. of this dialogue.

[z] Sylb. would read ἐκεῖνον, "that that God has ap.... to Abraham &c." which is probably right.

JUST. MART. Dan. 7, 13. Dan. 2, 34. Kingdom, *one like the Son of Man*, does he not signify the same thing? For the words, *like the Son of Man*, shew that He should appear, and be made man, but that He should not be of human seed; and when he calls Him, *a Stone cut out without hands*, he declares the same thing in a figure; for to say that He is cut out without hands, shews He is not a human production, but is of the will[1] of God the Father of all things, who sendeth Him forth. These words of Isaiah also, *Who shall declare His generation?* shew that He has a generation that is ineffable; for no one who is a man of men has a generation that cannot be declared; and are not those words of Moses, *He shall wash His robe in the blood of the grape*, that, as I have already often affirmed to you, which He has mystically foretold? He foretold that He should have blood, but not of men, as it is not man who engenders the blood of the grape, but God; and when Isaiah called Him, *The Angel of the great Counsel*, did he not foretell that He should be a Teacher of those things which He taught when He did come? For the great things which the Father had purposed to do to those who either were or should be pleasing to Him, and to all who revolted against His will, angels and man alike, He alone taught without disguise, saying, *They shall come from the east and from the west, and they shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.* And, *Many shall say to Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not eat, and drank, and prophesied, and cast out devils in Thy Name? And I will say unto them, Depart from Me.* And in other words, in which He will condemn those who are unworthy to be saved, He has declared that He will say, *Depart ye into outer darkness, which the Father hath prepared for the devil and his angels.* And again in other words He has said, *I give you power to tread on serpents, and scorpions, and venomous insects, and over all the power of the enemy.* And now we who believe in Him Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Jesus our Lord, exorcise all evil spirits, and have them in subjection to us[a].

[1] See p. 148, note g.

Isa. 9, 6. Matt. 8, 21. 22. Matt. 7, 22. 23. Luke 13, 26. Matt. 7, 22. et seq. Matt. 25, 41. Luke 10, 19.

[a] Many other primitive writers assert the same thing; e. g. St. Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus, book 2. §. 8. page 354. Ed. Ben. of St. Justin

For if it were obscurely told by the Prophets that Christ should suffer, and afterwards should have rule over all things, it was still impossible for any to comprehend it, until He convinced His Apostles that these things were expressly foretold in the Scriptures. For He declared before His crucifixion, *The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again the third day.* And David foretold, that before the sun and the moon He should be born of the womb, according to the will of the Father, and declared that being Christ[b], He should be a mighty God, and should be worshipped." DIAL. TRYPH. Mark 8, 31. Luke 9, 22. Ps. 72, 17; 110, 3.

77. Trypho replied, "I admit to you, that passages such as these and so numerous are sufficient for our conviction; but I wish you to observe, that I request of you the explanation of that passage which you have often promised: proceed therefore, that we may know how you prove it to have been spoken of this Christ of yours; for we affirm it to have been foretold of Hezekiah." Christ or Hezekiah foretold?

"I will do this," I replied, "as you wish; but do you first prove to me that it was said of Hezekiah, that *Before He had knowledge to cry, father, or mother, He took of the power of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, before the king of Assyria;* for it will not be allowed you to explain it as you wish, that Hezekiah made war on Damascus or Samaria, in presence of the king of Assyria: for the prophecy said, *For before the Child shall have knowledge to cry, father, or mother, He shall take of the power of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria, in the sight of the king of Assyria;* for if the Spirit of Prophecy had spoken this without the addition of the words, *Before the Child knows how to call, mother, or father, He shall take of the powers of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria;* and had only said, "she shall bring forth a son, and He shall receive the power of Damascus, and the spoils Isa. 8, 4.

Martyr. Tertullian in the 23d chap. of his Apology, page 22, Paris, 1664. and St. Cyprian to Demetrian, p. 133. Fell. and Epistle 69, page 299, with others. And see on §. 85.

[b] Ben. observes, that Ps. 45, 7. is the passage intended. See Apol. ii. 6. where he insists on the meaning of the name Christ.

JUST. MART. of Samaria," you might say that because God foreknew that He should take these things, He had therefore foretold it; but now the prophecy speaks with this addition, *Before the Child knows how to cry, father, or mother, He shall take the power of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria:* and you cannot prove that this ever befell any one of the Jews; but we can shew that it was fulfilled in our Christ; for as soon as He was born, Magi from Arabia presented themselves before Him, and worshipped Him, who first came to Herod, then king of your country, whom Scripture for his ungodly and lawless disposition terms king of the Assyrians. For you are aware," I said, "that the Holy Ghost often speaks in parables and by comparisons, as He has done indeed to all the people in Jerusalem, often saying to them, *Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.*

Ezek. 16, 3. 45.

Prophecy fulfilled by the Magi.

78. "[c]This King Herod learned from the elders of your people, when the Magi came to him from Arabia and said, "From the star which has appeared in the East, we know that a King is born in thy country, and we are come to worship Him," that (Christ was born) in Bethlehem; for they said, "It is thus written in the Prophet, *And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are not the least among the Princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule My people.*" Now these Magi, who came from Arabia to Bethlehem, worshipped the Child, and brought Him gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh; and then they were commanded by a revelation, after they had worshipped Him in Bethlehem, not to return to Herod.

Micah 5, 2. Matt. 2, 5. 6.

"And Joseph, who was betrothed to Mary, wishing at first to put her away, supposing her to be with child by commerce with some man, that is by fornication, was commanded in a vision not to do so, the angel who appeared to him telling him, that what she had conceived was by the Holy Ghost; then being afraid, he did not put her away; but when there was an enrolment in Judæa, which was then first made under Cyrenius, he went up from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem, of which place he was, to be

[c] This section being very confused and full of digressions, we have printed it in such a manner as to enable the reader to gather the author's meaning with the least trouble to himself.

enrolled, for he was by birth of the tribe of Judah, which dwelt in that country. DIAL. TRYPH.

"Then he was commanded, together with Mary, to go into Egypt, and there to remain with the Child until they should be again warned to return to Judæa.

"The Child then having been born in Bethlehem, when Joseph could find no place in the village where he might lodge, he put up in a cave which was near the village; and when they were there, Mary brought forth the Christ, and laid Him in a manger, where the Magi, who came from Arabia, found Him.

"But I have already mentioned to you," I said, "how Isaiah foretold even the token of the cave; but for the sake of those who have joined us to-day, I will repeat the passage again." Whereupon I cited the passage which I have already transcribed from Isaiah; on which I said, "from these words the priests of the mysteries of Mithras are urged by the devil to say, that in a place which they call a cave, their converts are initiated by them[d].

"When then the Arabian Magi did not come back to Herod as he requested, but returned to their own country, as they were commanded, by another way; and when Joseph, with Mary and the Child, had gone into Egypt, as they also were directed by Revelation, [the king,] not knowing the Child whom the Magi had come to worship, commanded that all the children absolutely which were in Bethlehem should be slain. And this also was foretold by

[d] Ed. Ben. observes, that those who were initiated into the mysteries of Mithras, were supposed to be initiated by Mithras himself, and that the priests would *say* it was so. And he therefore proposes to read "him" for "them" in the text, which is probably right. Mithras was the Sun, and Suidas tells us, that his votaries were initiated by the practice of different kinds of torture, by which they proved themselves holy and without passion, (δσιον καὶ ἀπαθῆ.) St. Gregory of Nazianzum, in his 3d Oration, alludes to the same; and Elias of Crete, in his Annotations upon it, says, that those tortures (which some state to have been eight, others twelve, and others again as many as eighty in number) consisted of hunger, thirst, scourging, burning or branding with fire, and the like; and Tertullian, in his De Corona, describes the manner of initiation in the cave, as referred to by St. Justin.

Dr. Hyde however, in the 4th chapter of his learned and valuable work, "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum," says, that the Greeks and Romans borrowed the worship of Mithras from the Persians, and perverted it; offering genuine worship to it as to a Divinity (which the Persians did not) with human sacrifices. He mistrusts Tertullian's account, saying, "in deteriorem sensum trahit;" and he affirms, that the tortures were all Roman additions to the original worship, the religion of Zoroaster strictly forbidding every thing of the sort.

Just. Mart. Jeremiah, the Holy Ghost speaking thus by him, *A voice was heard in Ramah, weeping and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and she would not be comforted, because they are not.* Through the voice then which was to be heard from Ramah, that is, from Arabia, (for there is even now a place in Arabia called Ramah,) weeping was to fill the place where Rachel, the wife of the holy Patriarch Jacob, whose name was changed to Israel, was buried, that is, Bethlehem, the women weeping for their children that were slain, and having no comfort, because of that which had happened to them.

Jerem. 31, 15.

Is. 8, 4. "For this saying of Isaiah, *He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,* signifies that the power of the evil demon, who inhabited in Damascus, should be overcome by Christ, as soon as He was born, which we see to have come to pass; for the Magi who had been led as spoils to all the evil actions which were done by that wicked spirit, in coming and worshipping Christ, shewed themselves revolters against the power that made them his spoils; which power the Scripture has signified to us by a parable to be dwelling in Damascus. And as it is a sinful and unjust one, it is well termed by parable Samaria. But that Damascus both was and is a part of the land of Arabia, although it is now attached to that which is called Syro-Phœnicia, none of you can deny. So that it would be well for you, my friends, to learn what you do not understand from those who have grace from God, that is, from us Christians, and not every way endeavour to defend your own doctrines, dishonouring those of God. Wherefore has this grace been also transferred to us, as Isaiah says in the following words, *This people draweth near Me, with their lips they honour Me, but their heart is far from Me. But in vain do they worship Me, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men. Therefore, behold, I will proceed to transplant this people, and I will transplant them. And I will take away the wisdom of their wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of their prudent.*"

Is. 29, 13. 14.

Apostasy of evil angels. 79. Then Trypho grew somewhat angry; but, still respecting the Scriptures, as was shewn by his countenance, said to me, "The words of God are holy; but your ex-

planations of them are forced, as appears from the inferences which you have drawn: or rather are blasphemous; for you affirm, that the angels have done evil, and revolted from God." Dial. Tryph.

Then I answered, in a more suppressed tone of voice, wishing to induce him to listen to me, "I admire, Sir, this reverence of yours, and I wish that you had the same disposition towards Him whom the angels are said to serve; as Daniel says, *He was brought as the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days, and all dominion was given Him for ever and ever.* But that you may know, Sir, I said, that we have not made this explanation which you blame on our own responsibility, I will give you a proof from Isaiah; for he says that the evil angels have inhabited and do still inhabit Tanais in the land of Egypt; his words are as follows; *Woe to the rebellious children. Thus saith the Lord, Ye have taken counsel, but not by Me: and have entered into covenant, but not by My Spirit, that ye may add sin to sin: doing evil, that ye may go down into Egypt, (and have not asked at My mouth,) to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to cover themselves with the shadow of the Egyptians. Therefore shall the shadow of Pharaoh be your shame, and a disgrace to those who trust in the Egyptians. For there are in Tanais princes, wicked angels. In vain shall they labour with a people, which shall not help nor profit them, but shall be their shame and reproach.* Zacharias also says, as you yourself have observed, *The devil stood at the right hand of Jesus* [Joshua] *the priest to resist him; and the Lord said, The Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee.* And again it is written in Job, as you also said, *The angels came to stand before the Lord, and the devil came with them.* And we find it written by Moses in the beginning of the book of Genesis, that the serpent deceived Eve, and was cursed; and we know, that in Egypt the magicians acted in imitation of those miracles which God wrought by His faithful servant Moses. And David says, as you know, that *the gods of the heathen are devils.*" Dan. 7, 13. 14. Isa. 30, 1—5. Zech. 3, 1. 2. Job 1, 6. 2, 1. Ps. 96, 5.

80. To this Trypho replied, "I have said to you, Sir, that you take pains on every point to be secure, by keeping close to the Scriptures. But tell me truly, do you

JUST. MART. The Millennium; not held by all.

confess that the place Jerusalem shall be built again, and look that your people shall be gathered together, and live in rejoicings with Christ, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and those of our nation, or such as became proselytes to us before the coming of your Christ? or did you betake yourself to this admission, that you might appear to have the better of us in this discussion?" To this I replied, "I am not so unhappy, Trypho, as to speak otherwise than as I think; and I have already confessed to you, that I and many others believe that this will come to pass[e], as you also assuredly know. And I have signified that there are at the same time many of a pure and devout Christian mind, who are not of the same opinion; for, as for those who are called Christians, but are in reality godless and impious heretics, I have already proved that they teach all that is blasphemous, and atheistical, and foolish. But that you may know that I do not say this only before you, I will compose a work of our whole conversation, as far as I am able, in which I will insert my confession of this which I admit to you; for I do not wish to follow men or human doctrines, but God and His doctrine; for if you have held converse with any who are called Christians but do not confess this, but even presume to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; who also say that there is no resurrection of the dead, but as soon as they die their souls are taken up into Heaven: do not imagine them to be Christians; as no one who thinks rightly would consider the Sadducees, or the kindred heresies of the Genistæ, and Meristæ, and the Galileans, and the Hellenians, and the Baptist Pharisees[f], to be Jews[g], (hear me I entreat you without offence, as I only speak what I think,) but such as are only called Jews and the children of Abraham, who confess God with their lips,

[e] On the early opinions about the Millennium, and the Traditione Latreia, see Note D. Oxf. Tr. p. 120 on Tertullian's Apology, §. 48, p. 101.

[f] So it is in the Text. Ben. would read Baptists *and* Pharisees. But this would leave scarce any of those to be counted orthodox. S. Epiphanius says, the Hemero-Baptists had the same opinions as the Scribes and Pharisees, except their one point of daily oblations. He says, they differed from the Sadducees about the Resurrection. Hence they may have been spoken of as a sect of Pharisees. This would have made the pure Pharisees orthodox by implication.

[g] Eusebius and St. Epiphanius mention seven sects of Jews, to three of which they give the same appellations

as He Himself proclaims, whilst their hearts are far from Him. But I, and all other Christians whose belief is in every respect correct, know that there will be both a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be rebuilt, adorned, and enlarged, as[1] the Prophets Ezekiel, Isaiah, and others declare. DIAL. TRYPH.

[1] 'as' is added from conjecture.

81. "For of this thousand years Isaiah speaks thus, *For there will be a new heaven and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind, but they shall find joy and gladness in it, which things I create; for, behold, I make Jerusalem a rejoicing, and my people a joy, and I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and I will joy in my people. And the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. And there shall be no more there an infant of days, nor an old man that shall not fulfil his days: for the child shall be an hundred years old; but the sinner that dieth, being an hundred years old, shall also be accursed. And they shall build houses, and themselves inhabit them; and shall plant vineyards, and themselves shall eat the fruit of them, and drink the wine. They shall not build, and others inhabit; they shall not plant, and others eat. For according to the days of the tree of life, shall the days of My people be: the works of their labours shall be multiplied. My elect shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth children for a curse: for they shall be a righteous seed, and blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them. And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will hear them; and whilst they are yet speaking, I will say, What is*

Prophecies of Isaiah and St. John. Is.65,17 to end.

as St. Justin in the text. Baptists or Hemero-Baptists, Pharisees, and Sadducees, and they are supposed to allude to the other four here spoken of by St. Justin under other names. It is uncertain who the Genistæ and Meristæ were. Isidore says, "the former were so called, as being derived purely from Abraham; the latter, because they 'separated' the Scriptures, and did not receive all the prophets. At Babylon some of the Israelites forsook their wives, and took Babylonish women. Those who did not act thus, on their return took the name of Genistæ, to shew that their descent was without stain." (Otto.) The Benedictine considers the Genists to be such as confess the world to be governed by God, "Generatim;" and the Merists he supposes to mean those who believe in a particular Providence, extending to individuals. The Galileans were derived from Judas of Galilee, Acts v. 37. Of the Hemero-Baptists some account is given in Mosheim de Rebus, c. 2. §. 9. p. 43. On the Pharisees and Sadducees, see Josephus, Antiquities, bk. 18. chap. 1. and the following chapters of Mosheim. Of the Hellenians nothing certain is known. Scaliger thinks that they were derived from the heresiarch Hellenius.

JUST. MART. *it? Then the wolves and the lambs shall feed together; and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock; and the serpent shall eat earth like bread. They shall not hurt nor destroy in my holy mountain, saith the Lord.* From what is said then," I continued, "in these words, *According to the days of the tree of life, shall the days of My people be, the works of their labours,* we understand Him to speak in a mystical manner of a thousand years; for when it was said to Gen. 2. Adam, 'In the day that he eateth of that tree, in the same he shall die,' we know that he did not fulfil a thousand Ps. 90, 3. years; and we know that the words, *The day of the Lord is as a thousand years,* brings us to the same point; and moreover, a teacher of ours whose name was John, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, foretold in a Rev. 20, 4—6. Revelation which was made to him, that those who believe in our Christ should pass a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after that there should be an universal, and in a word an eternal resurrection of all men together, and then the judgment: as our Lord also has Luke 20, 35. 36. said, *They shall neither marry, nor be given in marriage; but shall be equal unto the angels, and shall be the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.*

Prophecy now with Christians. 82. "For prophetical gifts remain with us even to this time, from which you ought to understand, that those which were formerly lodged with your nation, are now transferred to us. For as there were false Prophets in the time of your holy Prophets, so have we now many false teachers, of whom our Lord has forewarned us to beware. So that we are deficient in nothing, being assured that He did foreknow all that should happen to us after His resurrection from the dead, and ascent into Heaven; for He said that we should be put to death, and hated for His Name's sake, and that many false Prophets and false Christs should come in His Name, and should deceive many; which has also come to pass: for many have perversely taught, and teach even now, godless, blasphemous, and unrighteous things in His Name, with those which are put into their minds by that spirit of uncleanness the devil; whom we endeavour to persuade, as we do you, not to suffer themselves to be deceived, knowing that every one who is able to speak the truth, and does not

speak it, shall be condemned by God, as God Himself declares by Ezekiel, saying, *I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Judah. If the wicked man shall sin, and thou hast not warned him, he indeed shall perish in his sin, but his blood will I require at thine hand; but if thou hast warned him, thou shalt be guiltless.* We endeavour therefore to converse with you according to the Scriptures from fear, but not from avarice, or the love of glory, or of pleasure; for no one can accuse us of any of these things, nor do we wish to live like the rulers of your people, whom God thus reproaches, saying, *Your princes are companions of thieves, they love gifts, and follow after rewards.* But if you know of any such as these even among us, yet do not on that account blaspheme Christ and the Scriptures, and strive to misinterpret them.

Dial. Tryph. Ezek. 3, 17—19.

Is. 1, 23.

83. "For this passage, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool,* your teachers have presumed to explain as if it were spoken of Hezekiah, as if it were commanded him to sit on the right side of the Temple, when the king of Assyria sent to threaten him, and it was signified by Isaiah that he should not fear him.

Ps. 110. is not on Hezekiah.

"Now that Isaiah's words were thus fulfilled we know, and that the king of Assyria was turned aside from warring on Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, and that an angel of the Lord slew one hundred and eighty-five thousand of his host *in the camp* we also know and acknowledge, but that this Psalm was not spoken of him is evident; for it runs thus, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, till I shall make Thine enemies Thy footstool. He shall send the rod of power upon Jerusalem, and He shall rule in the midst of Thine enemies. In the beauty of Thy saints, before the morning star I have begotten Thee; the Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.* Who is there that will not confess that Hezekiah was not a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek? And who is there that does not know that he was not the deliverer of Jerusalem? And who is ignorant that he did not send the rod of power into Jerusalem and reign in the midst of his enemies, but that

See 2 Kings. Is. 37. Ps. 110, 1—4.

JUST. MART. it was God, who turned them away from him when he was mourning and lamenting? But our Jesus, though He has not yet come in glory, has sent forth the rod of power into Jerusalem, the word of calling and repentance to all nations, over whom the devils had rule, as David says, *The gods of the heathens are devils.* And that mighty word of His persuaded many to forsake the devils whom they used to serve, and to believe in the omnipotent God through Him, because the gods of the heathen are devils[h]: and this passage, *In the beauty of the saints from the womb have I begotten Thee before the morning star,* was spoken to Christ, as I have shewn.

Ps.96,5.

The words of Isaiah 7, 14. apply to Christ alone.

84. "And this passage, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son,* was spoken of Him. For if He, of whom Isaiah spoke them, was not to be born of a Virgin, of whom did the Holy Ghost say, *Behold, the Lord Himself shall give you a sign, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son?* If He also should be born of sexual commerce like every other first-born, why did God Himself say that He would give a sign which should not be common to all first-born? But that which is truly a sign, and which was to be believed by the race of man; viz. that through a Virgin's womb the First-born of every creature should take flesh, and be truly made man; this he foresaw by the Spirit of prophecy before it came to pass, and foretold, as I have explained to you, in various ways; that, when it did come to pass, it might be known to have been done by the power and will of the Creator of all things: as also Eve was made of one of Adam's ribs, and as all other creatures in the beginning were created by the word of God. But you presume in these words also to corrupt the translation of this passage which your [70] elders made at the court of Ptolemy, the king of Egypt; affirming that the Scripture is not as they translated it, but, "Behold a young woman shall conceive;" as if great things were signified by a woman conceiving from sexual commerce; which all young women do, except those who are barren; and as God, if He pleases, can make them do. For the mother of Samuel, who was barren, brought forth through the will of God: as did also the wife of the

Is.7,14.

Coloss. 1, 15.

[h] These words, as Thirlby thinks, have crept into the text from the margin.

holy patriarch Abraham, and Elisabeth the mother of John the Baptist, and sundry others likewise. So that you ought not to think that God is unable to do all things whatever He will. Especially, when it has been foretold that this shall happen, you ought not to corrupt or misinterpret the Prophecies; for you will wrong yourselves alone, and do no harm to God. DIAL. TRYPH.

85. "Again, the prophecy which says, *Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in,* some of you presumptuously explain to be said of Hezekiah, and others of Solomon: whereas it may be shewn that it was spoken of neither the one nor the other, nor of any one of your kings whatever, but only of this Christ of ours; who appeared without comeliness and honour, as Isaiah and David and all the Scriptures say; who is Lord of Hosts, through the will of the Father who gave to Him to be so; who also rose from the dead, and went up into heaven, as the Psalm and the rest of the Scriptures shew: which also proclaimed Him the Lord of Hosts, as, if you will, you may easily be convinced, even by the things that are passing under your own observation. For through the name of this very Son of God, who is also the First-born of every creature, and who was born of a Virgin, and made a man subject to suffering, and was crucified by your nation in the time of Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, every evil spirit is exorcised and overcome and subdued. But if you exorcise them by every name of men who have been born among you; whether of kings, or of righteous men, or of prophets, or of patriarchs; none of them will be subject to you. If indeed any of you exorcise them by the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, they perhaps will be subjected to you. He proves that Christ is the Lord of Hosts from the twenty-fourth Psalm and from His power over devils. Ps. 24, 7.

"But some of you exorcists, I have already said[1], exorcise by the use of magic like the Gentiles, employing fumigations and incantations[k]. But that they are angels and [1] §. 76.

[k] *καταδέσμοις.* The exact meaning of this term is doubtful. Casaubon and Thirlby think that the *καταδέσμοι* were certain verses, by virtue of which the demons, when expelled, were prevented from returning to or inflicting further sufferings on their subjects. The Benedictine, from Apol. 2. §. 6.

JUST. MART. powers whom the word of prophecy by David commanded to lift up the gates,—that He who rose from the dead, Jesus Christ, the Lord of Hosts, according to the will of the Father, might enter;—that prophecy of David likewise proves, which I will again recount for the sake of those who were not with us yesterday, for whom I now repeat in outline many of my assertions made then. And if I now say this to you, although I have frequently repeated the same thing, I know that it is not out of place to do so. For it is assuredly ridiculous to see the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies always performing the same course, and causing the same changes of seasons; and an arithmetician, if any one should ask him how many are twice two, because he frequently replies "four," not ceasing to repeat the same again: and similarly any other things that are confidently asserted, being uttered and asseverated again and again in the same manner; and yet that one who constructs arguments from the writings of the Prophets is to leave them, and not to repeat the same passages, but to think that he can produce and utter something superior to the Scripture. Now the passage from which I proved that God reveals to us that there are angels and powers in heaven is this, *Praise ye the Lord from the heavens; praise Him in the heights. Praise ye Him, all His Angels; praise ye Him, all His Hosts.*"

Ps. 148, 1. 2.

And here one of those who came with them the second day, Mnaseas by name, said, 'We are glad that you take the trouble to repeat the same passages on our account.'

"Hear, my friends," I said, "in obedience to what command of Scripture I do thus. Jesus commanded us to love even our enemies, which had been taught by Isaiah also at length, in whose words is contained the mystery of the regeneration both of us, and, in fact, of all who look for the appearance of Christ in Jerusalem, and endeavour by their works to please Him. The words of Isaiah are these: *Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at His word.*

Isa. 66, 5—13.

(q. v.) concludes them to have been some kind of powerful drug or potion, φαρμάκεια. In the opinion of Otto, they were a sort of magic bond or chain, which constrained the evil spirits to obey the will of the exorciser. Bened. and Otto in loc.

Say, our brethren, to them that hate you and detest you, that the name of the Lord is glorified. He hath appeared in their joy, and they shall be ashamed. A voice of noise from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the Lord that rendereth recompense to the proud. Before she travailed she brought forth, and before her pain came she was delivered of a man-child. Who hath heard such a thing, or who hath seen any thing like it? If the earth hath brought forth in one day, and if she hath brought forth a nation at once! Because Sion hath travailed and brought forth her children. And I gave this expectation even to her who did not bring forth, saith the Lord. Lo, I have made her that bringeth forth, and her that is barren, saith the Lord. Be glad, O Jerusalem, and hold a solemn assembly, all ye that love her. Rejoice, all ye that mourn for her, that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breast of her consolations; that when ye have sucked out, you may be delighted with the entrance of His glory." DIAL. TRYPH.

86. When I had recited this, I continued, "Hear how He, whom the Scriptures shew to be about to come again in glory after His crucifixion, had as His type the tree of life,—which was said to have been planted in Paradise,—and the events that were to happen to all the Saints. The various figures in the Old Testament of the wood of the cross by which Christ reigned.

"Moses was sent with a rod to deliver the people; and having it in his hands, he at their head divided the sea; and by it he saw water gush from the rock; and it was a rod of wood that he cast into the water of Marah, which was bitter, and made it sweet. Jacob put rods into the watering troughs, and succeeded in causing the flock of his uncle to conceive so that he should obtain their young. The same Jacob boasts that he passed over the river with his staff. He said that he saw a ladder, and the Scripture declares that God rested on it; and we have proved from the Scriptures that this was not the Father. And when he poured oil on the stone in the same place, he received a testimony from the God who was seen of him, that he had anointed the pillar to the God who was seen of him: and that Christ is symbolically called a stone in many passages of Scripture I have also shewn; and also that every chrism, whether of oil or balsam, or of any other unguent which is compounded of ointment, was (typical) of Him; the Scrip-

Ex. 4, 7. Ex. 14, 16. 21. Ex. 17, 5. 6. Ex. 15, 23—25. Gen. 30, 31—42. Gen. 32, 10. Gen. 28, 12. Gen. 28, 18. Gen. 31, 13.

Just. Mart. Ps.45,7. ture saying, *Wherefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.* For all kings and anointed persons derived from Him their appellations of Kings and Anointed: as He received from the Father those of King, and Christ, and Priest, and Angel, and all others of the same kind which He either has or had. The Numb. 17, 6. Is. 11, 1. rod of Aaron by its budding shewed him to be the High Priest. Isaiah foretold that a rod should spring from the Ps. 1, 3. root of Jesse, which was Christ. And David, that the righteous man is *as the tree that is planted by the water-side, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season, and his leaf* Ps. 92, 12. *shall not wither:* and the righteous, it is said, *shall flourish like a palm tree.* God appeared to Abraham from a tree, as Gen. 18, 1. it is written, *at the oak of Mamre.* The people, when they Ex. 15, 29. had passed over Jordan[1], found seventy willows and twelve wells. David says, that by the rod and the staff he had Numb. 33, 9. Ps. 23, 4. received comfort from God. Elisha, by casting a stick into the river Jordan, brought up the iron of the axe, with which the sons of the Prophets had gone to cut down 2 Kings 6, 1—8. wood for the building of a house in which they desired to read and meditate on the law and commandments of God, as our Christ has also freed us, who were immersed in the very heinous sins which we had committed, through His Crucifixion on the tree, and His sanctifying us by water, and made us a house of prayer and adoration. And Gen. 38, 25. it was a staff which shewed that Judah was the father of those who were born of Thamar by a great mystery."

Trypho urges in objection the words of Isaiah 11, 1—3. Justin explains them. Is. 11, 1—3. 87. When I concluded, Trypho said; "Do not for the future suppose that I am endeavouring to overthrow what you say, when I ask what I do, but that I wish for instruction on those subjects on which I make my enquiries. Tell me then; when the Scripture says, by Isaiah, *And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse: and a flower shall ascend out of the stem of Jesse: and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and righteousness, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him;* and you have confessed to me," he continued, "that these words were spoken of Christ, and you

[1] A mistake of Justin's for the Red Sea.

say that He is God pre-existing, and that being incarnate according to the will of God, He was made man through the Virgin;—how can He be shewn to be pre-existing who is filled by those powers of the Holy Ghost, which Scripture recounts by Isaiah, as if He were in need of them?" DIAL. TRYPH.

"You have put," I answered, "most sensible and wise questions; for it really does appear to be a difficulty: but that you may understand the solution of it, listen to what I am about to say. The Scripture says, that these powers of the Spirit, which have been enumerated, came upon Him, not as if He had need of them, but as if they were about to rest upon Him; that is, were to come to an end in Him; so that prophets should no longer arise, as formerly, in your nation: which you yourself may see; for after Him no prophet whatever has arisen among you. And attend to what I say, that you may know, that each of your prophets received some one power, or even a second, from God, and did or spoke the things which we have learnt from the Scriptures. For Solomon had the spirit of wisdom, and Daniel of understanding and counsel, and Moses of strength and piety, Elias of fear, Isaiah of knowledge; and the others likewise had each some one power, or one joined by turns with some other; as also Jeremiah and the twelve prophets, and David, and every other prophet that has arisen in your nation. The Spirit rested then, that is, ceased, when He came, after Whom, in the time of this dispensation, which was accomplished among men by Him[m], these powers were to cease from you, and having rested in Him, must again, as had been prophesied, become gifts, which, from the grace of the power of that Spirit, He gives to those who believe in Him, as He knows each to be worthy of them. That it had been foretold that this should be done by Him after His Ascent into heaven, I have stated already, and now repeat. He said, then, *He ascended on high, He led captivity captive: He gave gifts to the sons of men.* And Ps. 68, 18.

[m] Μεθ' ὃν τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης τοῖς ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτοῦ γενομένοις χρόνοις, παύσασθαι ἔδει αὐτὰ ἀφ' ὑμῶν. This passage is evidently corrupt. We have followed the reading suggested by the Benedictine, who would thus amend the Greek, τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτῷ γενομένης χρόνοις. Otto adopts the same, retaining the original αὐτοῦ, and reading it, "The dispensation accomplished among His people."

JUST. MART. again, in another prophecy it is said, *And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh, and upon My servants, and upon My handmaids, and they shall prophesy.* Joel 2, 28. 29.

Christ received not the Holy Spirit because He needed Him.

88. "And you may see among us both women and men, with gifts from the Spirit of God. It was not therefore because He had need of power that it was foretold that these powers which are enumerated by Isaiah should come upon Him, but because for the future they should not exist. Take as a proof that which I told you was done by the Arabian Magi; who, immediately on the birth of the Child, came and worshipped Him. For as soon as He was born, He had His power: and growing up in the usual manner of all other men, making use of the things that were proper for Him, He allotted its own to each stage of His growth, taking as nourishment all kinds of food, and waiting thirty years, more or less, until John went before Him as the herald of His coming, and was His forerunner in the way of Baptism, as I have already shewn. And then when Jesus came to the river Jordan where John was baptizing, when he had gone down into the water, fire was kindled in the Jordan [n]; and when He came up from it, the Apostles of this same Person, our Christ, have recorded that the Holy Ghost alighted on Him as a dove. And we know that it was not from having need of baptism, or of the Spirit that came upon Him in the form of a dove, that He came to the river. And in like manner, He did not condescend to be born and to be crucified, as if He had need so to be, but He did it for the race of men, who from Adam had become subject to death and the deceit of the serpent, each of them having by his own fault committed sin. For God,

[n] Justin evidently derived the idea of a fire having been kindled in the Jordan at our Lord's baptism from some of the apocryphal works of his time. In the Gospel used by the Ebionites it is said, "a vast light shone round about the place;" Epiphanius, Hær. 30. §. 13. and in the "Prædicatio Pauli" (Petri) were the words "Cum baptizaretur ignem super aquam esse visum." De Baptismo Hæreticorum: Cyprian, ed. Fell, p. 30. Grotius, on Matthew 3, 16. says, that an allusion to the same thing is found in the Liturgy of the Syrians, as ordered by Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria; but the text hardly bears out his assertion. It is as follows, "Quo tempore ascendit ab aquis Sol inclinavit radios suos, et stellæ adoraverunt eum ipsum qui flumina fontesque omnes sanctificavit. Absque igne et absque lignis calefactæ erant aquæ quando venit Filius Dei ut baptizaretur in medio Jordanis." Bigne's Bibliotheca, vol. vi. p. 45. second edition.

willing that both angels and men, who were endued with freedom of choice and power, should do whatever He had enabled them to do, so created them, that if they chose such things as are agreeable to Him, He would preserve them incorrupt and free from punishment, but if they did evil He would correct each as He pleased. Nor did His entering Jerusalem sitting upon an ass, which I have proved to have been foretold, endue Him with power to be the Christ, but it afforded proof to men that He was the Christ, in like manner as proof needed to be given in the time of John, that they might discern who was the Christ. For as John sat by the Jordan and preached the baptism of repentance, wearing only a girdle of skins and a garment of camel's hair, and eating nothing but locusts and wild honey, men supposed him to be the Christ; but he himself declared to them, *I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying; for there shall come after me He who is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear.* And when Jesus came to the Jordan, being thought to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and having no comeliness, as the Scripture foretold, but being considered as a carpenter, (for he was used to follow the employment of a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes, by which he taught us both the tokens of righteousness, and activity of life,) the Holy Ghost then, on man's account as I have said, descended on Him in the form of a dove, and a voice at the same time came from Heaven, which had been also spoken by David, who, as in His person, said what should be spoken to Him by the Father, *Thou art My beloved Son, this day have I begotten Thee;* saying, that His generation should then take place among men from the time of their arriving at the knowledge of Him."

DIAL. TRYPH.

John 1, 20-23. Luke 3, 16. Matt. 3, 11.

Matt. 6, 1.

Ps. 2, 7.

89. "You know well," said Trypho, "that our whole nation looks for Christ, and we confess that all the Scriptures which you have produced are spoken of Him; and I also confess that the name of Joshua, which was bestowed on the son of Nun, has induced me to incline to this view; but we doubt whether Christ should be so dishonourably crucified: for it is said in the law, *Cursed is every one that is crucified;* so that I am very difficult of belief on this point. That

The cross is only a difficulty to Trypho on account of its curse. It proves however that Jesus is the Christ.

Deut. 21, 23. Gal. 3, 13.

JUST. MART. the Scriptures do say that Christ should suffer, is plain; but we wish to learn if you have any means of proving also that it should be by a kind of suffering [1] which is cursed in the law."

[1] πάθους

"If," I replied, "Christ was not to suffer, and the Prophets had not foretold that from the sins of the people He should be led to death, and be put to dishonour, and be scourged, and be reckoned among the transgressors, and be led as a sheep to the slaughter, Whose generation, the Prophet says, none shall be able to declare, you would do well to wonder: but if it is this which characterizes Him, and points Him out to all, how can we not confidently believe in Him? And all who understand the Prophets will assert, that this is He, and not another, if only they hear that He was crucified."

The extended hands of Moses foreshewed the Cross.

90. "Lead us on then," said Trypho, "from the Scriptures, that we also may believe you. For that He should suffer, and be led as a sheep to the slaughter, we know; but if He was to be crucified, and die so shamefully and dishonourably by a death that is cursed in the law, prove it to us, for we are unable to bring ourselves even to conceive this."

"You know," I answered, "that what the Prophets said and did, (as in fact has been acknowledged by you,) they revealed in parables and types, veiling the truth which they contained, that the greater number of them should not be easily understood by the multitude, but that those who sought to discover and learn it should labour for it."

"We have acknowledged this," they said. "Listen then," I said, "to what follows. Moses first made known this apparent curse of His by the signs which he did." "To what," said Trypho, "do you refer?"

Ex. 17, 9—12.

"When the people," I answered, "made war upon Amalek, and the son of Nun, who was surnamed Joshua, led the battle, Moses himself prayed to God with his hands stretched out on either side: and Ur and Aaron held them up all day, that they might not be let down when he grew weary; for if he gave way at all from this sign which represented the cross, the people, as it is written in the books of Moses, were overcome; but if he continued in

that posture, Amalek was defeated in the same degree, and he who had the strength derived it from the cross. For it was not because Moses prayed in this manner that the people were victorious, but that the name of Jesus being in the front of the battle, he formed the sign of the cross; for which of you does not know, that that prayer is most pleasing to God which is made with lamentation and weeping, and in headlong prostration, and in bending of the knees? In this way, however, neither he nor any one else when sitting on a stone offered up any prayers. But even the stone is a type of Christ, as I have proved. DIAL. TRYPH. Cf. ch. 70, 76, 86.

91. " And God shews in another way the strength of the mystery of the Cross, saying by Moses in the blessing with which he blessed Joseph, *From the blessing of the Lord is his land; for the seasons of heaven, and for the dew, and for the deep of fountains beneath, and for the fruits brought forth by the course of the sun in their season, for the unitings*[1] *of the months, and for the tops of the ancient mountains*[2]*, and for the precious things of the hills and perpetual rivers, and the fulness of the fruits of the earth: and let those things which are pleasing to him that appeared in the bush come upon the head of Joseph, and on the top of the head of him that was glorified among his brethren*[o]*. His beauty is as the firstling of a bullock, and his horns are the horns of an unicorn; with them he shall push the nations together from the end of the earth.* But no one can say or prove that the horns of an unicorn belong to any other thing or figure than the type which represents the cross; for the one post is upright, from which the topmost part is lifted up like a horn, when the other is fitted to it, and when the ends appear on each side as horns coupled on to that one horn; and that which is fixed in the middle upon which those who are crucified are mounted, also projects like a horn, and it too looks like one, when put into shape, and fixed with the other horns. And the words, *with them he shall push the nations together from the end of the earth,* are plainly descriptive of what is now done among all nations; for the

The Cross was foreshewn in the blessing of Joseph and in the serpent which was lifted up. Deut. 33, 13. [1] συνόδων. [2] ὀρέων ἀρχῆς LXX. Deut. 33, 17.

[o] This translation adheres to the reading of the LXX, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῆς δοξασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀδελφοῖς. Πρωτότοκος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ. Where δοξασθεὶς was probably written for δοξάσθεντος.

JUST. MART. Christ comprehends it in two precepts.

ledge that they commit sin in so doing; except those who are possessed by an unclean spirit, and who being corrupted by a bad education or bad habits, and by wicked laws have lost their natural conceptions; or rather have quenched them, or kept them down. For you may see that such are not willing to suffer the same things as they inflict on others, and with hostile consciences reproach one another with what they do themselves. Whence it appears to me to be well said by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that all righteousness and piety are fulfilled in two commandments; which are, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself.* For he that loves God with all his heart and with all his strength is full of devout sentiments[1], and will not honour any other God, but will honour that Angel of God according to His will who is beloved by the Lord and God; and he who loves his neighbour as himself, whatever good he wishes for himself he wishes for his neighbour also. But no one wishes himself evil: he therefore that loves his neighbour will pray and labour to obtain for him the same things as he wishes for himself; and man's neighbour is none other than man, that animal of like passions with himself, and possessed of reason. All righteousness therefore being twofold, towards God and man, whoever, says Scripture, *loves the Lord God with all his heart, and with all his strength, and his neighbour as himself,* is truly righteous. But you were never shewn to have had any friendship or love either to God, the prophets, or yourselves; but, as is plain, are found to have always been idolaters, and murderers of the righteous; so that you laid hands even upon Christ Himself; in which wickedness of yours you continue even to this time, cursing even those who prove to you that He whom you crucified is the Christ. In addition to which, you also endeavour to prove that He was crucified, because He was an enemy to God and accursed; which is a result of your unreasonable prejudice. For although you have cause to believe, from the signs which Moses gave, that this is the Christ, you will not do so; and besides, supposing that you are able to involve us in confusion, you propose to us whatever occurs to you, although you yourselves are

Mat. 22, 37—39.

[1] γνώμης.

wanting in proofs, whenever you meet any well-grounded Christian. DIAL. TRYPH.

94. "Tell me now, was it not God who by Moses commanded the people to make no image or likeness whatever, either of the things in heaven above, or on the earth; and yet He Himself in the desert caused a brazen serpent to be made by the same Moses, and set up as a sign by which they who had been bitten by the serpents were healed, and yet He is guiltless of any wrong? for by this, as I said, He taught a mystery, signifying thereby that He would destroy the power of the serpent who caused Adam to commit his offence, and proclaim to those who believe on Him who was typified by this sign (that is, on Him who was crucified) salvation from the wounds of the serpent, which are evil deeds, idolatries, and other acts of unrighteousness. For if this be not the meaning, explain to me why Moses placed a brazen serpent for a sign, and commanded those who were bitten to look on it, and they were healed; and this, when he had himself commanded them to make no image of any thing whatever." In what sense he who hangs on the tree is cursed.

Another of those who came the second day said, "You speak truly. We cannot give any reason for this; for I have frequently asked our teachers about it, and none of them gave me any explanation of it. Continue therefore what you were saying: for we are attending to your explanation of a mystery through which the writings of the prophets are assailed by false accusations."

"As then," I continued, "God commanded the sign to be given by the brazen serpent, and yet He is without blame: so in the law a curse is laid down against all men who are crucified, and not against the Christ of God, through whom He saves all who have done things worthy of a curse.

95. "For, according to the law of Moses, the whole race of man will be found to lie under a curse; for it is written, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.* And not even will you venture to assert that any one performed all those commandments exactly; but some have kept them more and some less than others. Now if those who are under this law appear to be subject to a curse, because they did not Christ took on Himself the curse which was due to us. Deut. 27, 26. Gal. 3, 10.

JUST. MART. observe all its precepts, shall not all the heathen appear to be much rather subject to a curse who were guilty of idolatry, and corrupted youths, and committed other wickednesses? If therefore the Father of all willed that His Christ should take the curses of all for the whole race of man, knowing that He would raise Him up after He had been crucified and put to death, why do you speak of Him who endured to suffer these things according to the will of the Father as if He were cursed, and do not rather lament for yourselves? For although His Father Himself even caused Him to suffer these things for the human race, you did not do this that you might minister to the will of God, nor did you work righteousness in killing the prophets; and let none of you say, If the Father willed Him to suffer these things, that by His stripes, the human race might be healed, we have done no wrong. If indeed you assert this, repenting of your sins and acknowledging that this is the Christ, and keeping His commandments, I have already said that you shall have forgiveness of your sins: but if you curse Him and those who believe in Him, and when you have power put them to death, how will not your having laid hands on Him be required of you, as of unjust men and sinners, whose hearts are altogether hard, and devoid of wisdom?

That curse was a prediction of the things which the Jews would do. Deut. 21, 23.

96. "For that which is written in the law, *Cursed is every one who hangeth on a tree*, strengthens our hope, which is suspended on Christ who was crucified; not on the view that God curses Him who was crucified, but on the view that He foretold what was to be done by you all, and others like you, who do not know that this is He who was before all things, and is the eternal Priest of God, and King, and Christ[q]; which things you may even see to have come to pass. For in your synagogues you curse all who by Him are made Christians, and other nations actively carry out the curse, putting to death all who merely confess themselves to be Christians; to all of whom we say, You are our brethren. Only recognise the truth of God. And when neither they nor you listen to us, but both of

[q] We have followed the reading of Thirlby, the Benedictine, and Otto, who, for μὴ ἐπιστάμενον . . . . . μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, substitute μὴ ἐπισταμένων . . . . μέλλον γίνεσθαι.

you strive to make us deny the name of Christ, we rather prefer and endure to be put to death, being persuaded that God will give us all those good things which He has promised us through Christ. And moreover, we pray for you that you may receive mercy from Christ: for He taught us to pray even for our enemies, saying, *Be ye kind and merciful, as is also your Father which is in heaven.* For we see that the omnipotent God is kind and merciful; making His sun to rise on the unthankful and the righteous, and sending rain on the holy and the wicked; all of whom He has taught us that He is about to judge. DIAL. TRYPH. Luke 6, 36. Matt. 5, 45.

97. "Nor was it without purpose that the Prophet Moses remained even till the evening, when Ur and Aaron bore up his hands from beneath in this form [of the cross]. For the Lord remained almost till evening upon the tree, and towards evening they buried Him; then He rose again the third day, which was thus foretold by David: *I did call upon the Lord with my voice, and He heard me out of His holy hill. I laid me down and slept: I rose up again, for the Lord sustained me.* It was likewise said by Isaiah in what manner He should die, as follows: *I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people, which walketh in a way that was not good.* And the same Isaiah also foretold that He should rise again: *His burying was taken away from the midst;* and, *I will give the rich for His death.* And in other passages again, David thus spoke of His passion and the cross, in mystical parable, saying in the twenty-second Psalm, *They pierced My hands and My feet: they did tell all My bones: they also considered and looked upon Me. They parted My garments amongst them, and upon My vesture did they cast lots.* For when they crucified Him, in fixing in the nails, they pierced His hands and His feet, and they that had crucified Him divided His garments among them; casting lots, each according to the decision of the lot, for what he wished to choose. And you deny that this Psalm was spoken of Christ: being in all respects blind; and not understanding that no one of your nation who was ever called King and Christ, had his hands and feet pierced while he lived, and died by this mystery, that is, was crucified, except this Jesus only. Ps. 3, 4, 5. Is. 65, 2. Rom. 10, 21. Is. 57, 2. 53, 9. Ps. 22, 16—18.

JUST. MART. Especially the twenty-second Psalm.

98. "But I will recite the whole Psalm, that you may hear His devotion to the Father, and how He refers all things to Him, as though He Himself entreats to be saved by Him from this death, shewing at the same time in the Psalm what kind of people they were who rose up against Him, and proving that He was truly made man, and sensible of suffering. It is as follows: *My God, my God, look upon me, why hast Thou forsaken me? Far from my salvation are the words of my faults. O my God, I will cry unto Thee in the day time, and Thou wilt not hear, and in the night season, and it is not want of understanding to me*[1]. *But Thou inhabitest the holy place, Thou praise of Israel. Our fathers trusted in Thee, they trusted, and Thou didst deliver them: they cried unto Thee, and were delivered: they trusted in Thee, and were not confounded. But I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and the outcast of the people. All they that see me laughed me to scorn, and spake with their lips, and shook their heads: he trusted on the Lord, let Him deliver him; let Him save him, seeing He will have him. But Thou art He that took me out of the womb; my hope from my mother's breasts: I was cast upon Thee from the womb; from my mother's belly Thou art my God: be not far from me, for trouble is near; for there is none to help. Many calves have compassed me about, fat bulls have closed me in on every side. They opened their mouth against me, as a ravening and a roaring lion. All my bones are poured out as water, and parted. My heart is like melting wax in the midst of my belly. My strength hath dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue hath cleaved to my jaws; and Thou broughtest me into the dust of death. For many dogs compassed me about, the assembly of the wicked enclosed me. They pierced my hands and my feet; they told all my bones; they also considered and looked upon me; they parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots. But Thou withdraw not Thy assistance from me, O Lord; haste to help me. Deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth, and my humility from the horns of the unicorn. I will declare Thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I praise Thee. Ye that fear the Lord, praise*

Ps. 22, 1—23.

[1] οὐκ ἄνοια, LXX.

Him: all ye seed of Jacob, glorify Him; and fear Him, all ye seed of Israel." DIAL. TRYPH.

99. When I had thus said, I continued; "I will thus prove to you that the whole Psalm is spoken of Christ, by repeating and explaining it. That which it says in the beginning then, *My God, my God, look upon me: why hast Thou forsaken me*, foreshewed from the first what was to be spoken in Christ's time. For when on the cross, He cried, *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me;* and those words which follow, *Far from my salvation are the words of my faults: O my God, I will cry unto Thee in the day time, and Thou wilt not hear, and in the night season, and it is not want of understanding to me:* His words expressed the very things which He was about to do. For in the day on which He was to be crucified, He took three of His disciples to a mount which is called the Mount of Olives, which was opposite to the Temple in Jerusalem, and prayed, saying, *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me:* and afterwards continued His prayer, saying, *Not as I will, but as Thou wilt:* thus shewing that He has been verily made man, capable of suffering. But that no one might say that He knew not that He was about to suffer, He adds immediately in the Psalm, *and it is not want of understanding to Me.* As it was not from want of understanding in God that He asked Adam where he was, and Cain where Abel was; but to convince each what kind of a person he was; and that knowledge of all might accrue to us through the Scripture: so He signifies that it was not through His own want of understanding, but that of those who thought that He was not the Christ, but considered that they should put Him to death, and that He would remain in Hades as a common man.

The beginning of the Psalm are the words of Christ when dying.

Gen. 3, 9. Gen. 4, 9.

100. "And that which follows: *But Thou dwellest in the holy place, O Thou Praise of Israel,* shewed that He would do that which was worthy of praise and admiration: being about after His crucifixion to rise again on the third day from the dead. To do which, He received from the Father. For I have already shewn that the Christ is called Jacob and Israel; and I have proved that it was not only mystically foreshewn of Him, in the blessing of Joseph and Judah,

v. 3; in what sense Christ is Jacob, and Israel, and the Son of man.

JUST. MART. Mat. 11, 27. but that it was written in the Gospel thus: *All things are delivered unto Me of the Father, and no man knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and those to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.* He revealed then to us all those things which we have learnt from the Scriptures by His grace, who know that He is the First-begotten of God, and was before all the creatures; and the son of the Patriarchs, since He took flesh of a Virgin who was of their race, and condescended to be made a man without comeliness, dishonoured, and liable to suffering. Hence it was that He said in His discourses when He spoke of His impending passion, *The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the Pharisees and the Scribes, and be crucified, and rise again the third day.* He called Himself the Son of Man then, either from His birth of[1] a Virgin, who was, as I have said, of the race of David and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham: or because Adam[r] was the father of Him and of those here recounted, from whom Mary derives her descent. For we know that the fathers of women are the fathers of the children which their daughters bear. And one of His disciples, who was before called Simon, He surnamed Peter, because he recognised Him to be Christ the Son of God, according to the revelation of His Father. And we seeing Him to be described in the records of His Apostles as the Son of God, and calling Him the Son, have perceived that He is even before all creatures, having proceeded from the Father by His power and will; who is also styled in the writings of the Prophets by one mode and another, Wisdom, and the Day, and the East, and a Sword, and a Stone, and a Rod, and Jacob, and Israel. And that He was made man of the Virgin, that by the same way that the disobedience which proceeded from the serpent took its rise, it might also receive its destruction. For Eve when a virgin and undefiled conceived the word of the serpent, and brought forth disobedience and death. But Mary the Virgin receiving faith and joy, when the Angel Gabriel told her the good news[2] that the Spirit of the Lord should come

Matt. 16, 21. Mark 8, 31. Luke 9, 22.

[1] διὰ

Mat. 16, 15—18.

[2] εὐαγγελιζομένου.

[r] The text has αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, approved by the Bened., but in the translation Thirlby's reading has been followed.

upon her, and the power of the Highest should overshadow her, and therefore that Holy Thing which should be born of her is the Son of God, answered, *Be it unto me according to Thy word.* And of her has He been born, of Whom I have proved that so many passages of Scripture were spoken: through Whom God destroys the serpent, and those angels and men who resemble him; but works deliverance from death for those who repent of their sins, and believe in Him. DIAL. TRYPH. Luke 1, 35.

101. "But the next words of the Psalm are those which say, *Our fathers trusted in Thee; they trusted, and Thou didst deliver them; they cried unto Thee, and were saved; they trusted in Thee, and were not confounded. But I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and an outcast of the people.* They prove that He acknowledges those as fathers who put their trust in God, and were saved by Him, and who were also fathers of the Virgin, of whom He was made man and born; and He signifies that He Himself shall be saved by the same God; and He boasts not of doing any thing by His own will or strength. For when upon earth also, He did the same: for when one addressed Him as *Good Master,* He answered, *Why callest thou Me good? there is one good; that is, My Father which is in heaven.* But when He said, *I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and an outcast of the people,* He foretold what appears both to be and to happen to Him. For reproach every where attends us who believe in Him; and He is an outcast of the people, because by your nation He was cast out, and dishonoured, and suffered those things which you plotted against Him. And in what follows, *They that saw me laughed me to scorn; they spake with their lips, they shook their heads; He trusted on the Lord, let Him deliver him, seeing He will have him;* He also foretold what happened to Him. For each of those who saw Him on the Cross wagged their heads, and distorted their lips, and turned up their noses, and said in irony what we find in the records of His Apostles, *He called Himself the Son of God, let Him come down and walk, let God save Him.* v. 4—6. Christ refers all things to the Father. Matt. 19, 16. 17. Matt. 27, 39. 43. Luke 23, 35. 37.

JUST. MART. v. 9-15. A prediction of what happened to Christ at His birth: why God permitted it.

102. "And the following words, *My hope from my mother's breasts. I was cast upon Thee from the womb; from my mother's belly Thou art my God: be not far from me, for trouble is near; for there is none to help. Many calves have compassed me about, fat bulls have closed me in on every side. They opened their mouth against me, as a ravening and a roaring lion. All my bones are poured out as water, and parted. My heart is like melting wax in the midst of my belly. My strength hath dried like a potsherd, and my tongue did cleave to my jaws,* contained a prediction of what has come to pass, as do these, *my hope from my mother's breasts:* for as soon as He was born in Bethlehem, as I have said, Herod the king learnt about Him from the Magi of Arabia, and plotted to destroy Him; and Joseph, according to the command of God, took Him with Mary, and departed to Egypt. For the Father had decided that His Son should not be put to death until He had grown to be a man, and had preached His word which proceeded from Him. But should any one ask us if God were not able rather to destroy Herod; I ask, anticipating the objection, whether God was not able at first to deprive the serpent of existence, rather than say, *I will place enmity between him and the woman, and between his seed and her seed.* Was He not able to create a multitude of men at once, but yet knowing that it was good so to be, He made both angels and men with free will for the practice of righteousness; and He determined periods during which He knew that it would be well for them to have this freedom of will; and because He also knew that it was well, He wrought both universal and particular judgments, their free-will being still preserved. Hence Scripture informs us, that at the founding of the tower and the diversity and confusion of tongues, *the Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language: and this they have begun to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them of all those things which they have imagined to do.* And both these words, *My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaves to my jaws,* are likewise a prophecy of what He would do according to the will of

Matt. 2.

Gen. 9, 15.

Gen. 11, 6.

ver. 15.

His Father; for the force of His powerful word, by which He always confuted the Scribes and Pharisees, and in general the teachers of your nation, when they questioned with Him, suffered a suspension like a full[1] and mighty fountain, the waters of which are turned off, when He kept silence, and before Pilate would no more answer any one any thing, as is recorded in the writings of His Apostles; and that that too which was spoken by Isaiah might have effectual fruit, where it is said, *The Lord giveth me a tongue, that I may know when I ought to speak.* And when He says, *Thou art my God, be not far from me,* He teaches us that we ought all to put our trust in God, the Creator of all things; and from Him alone seek salvation and assistance; not thinking, like the rest of the world, that we can be saved through birth, or riches, or strength, or wisdom, as you yourselves also always did; once indeed making a calf, but always shewing yourselves ungrateful, and murderers of the saints, and puffed up with pride on account of your descent. For if the Son of God plainly says that He can be saved, neither because He is a Son, nor because He is strong, nor because He is wise, but considering that He is without offence, as Isaiah says, and committed no sin even in word, (for *He did no evil, neither was guile found in His mouth,*) says that He cannot be saved without God, how can you and those others who expect to be saved without this hope, not think that you are deceiving yourselves?

DIAL. TRYPH.

[1] πολυ-ὑδρου.

Is. 50, 4.

ver. 10. 11.

Is. 53, 9.

103. "The words of the Psalm which follow next; *For trouble is near; for there is none to help. Many calves have compassed me about; fat bulls have closed me in on every side. They opened their mouths against me, as a ravening and a roaring lion. All my bones are poured out as water, and divided;* were likewise a prediction of what happened to Him; for in that night when those of your nation who were sent by the Scribes and Pharisees as their teachers came upon Him from the Mount of Olives[a], those whom the

v. 11-14. The Pharisees are the bulls. Herod is the roaring lion, or the Devil.

[a] Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, which Thirlby would read ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, for which the Benedictine substitutes ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. "Justin seems to think," says the latter, "that the Jews came upon Christ from some part of the mountain, He being in the valley below." The words of the Evangelists will not bear out this opinion. Matthew xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39.

Just. Mart. 1 προφ- λεις. Scripture calls calves that butt with the horn and are prematurely destructive[1], surrounded Him. And by the words, *fat bulls compassed me round about*, He spoke of those ver. 12. who acted like the calves when He was brought before your teachers, whom the Scripture calls bulls, because we know that bulls are the authors of the life of calves; as therefore bulls are the fathers of calves, so were your teachers the cause of their children going out to the Mount of Olives to seize Him, and bring Him to them. And when He says, ver. 11. *There is no one to help*, this was also prophetical of what was done; for no one, not even a single person, was there ver. 13. to assist Him as an innocent man. And, *They gaped upon me with their mouths as a roaring lion*, shews that He who was then king of the Jews, and was himself also called Herod, was a successor of that Herod, who when He was born slew all the male children that were then born in Bethlehem, thinking that among them would certainly be the one of whom the Magi who came from Arabia had told him: not knowing the counsel of Him who was more powerful than all, how He commanded Joseph and Mary to take the Child, and go into Egypt, and to be there until it should be revealed to them to return again to their own country; whither they went, and remained until the Herod who slew the children in Bethlehem was dead; and Archelaus succeeded him, who also died before Christ entered upon that dispensation, which, according to the will of the Father, was fulfilled by Him when He was crucified. Herod then succeeding Archelaus, and taking the government which fell to his share, Pilate, to gain favour with him, sent Jesus to him bound, which God, who foreknew that this also would come to pass, had thus foretold; *They brought Him to the Assyrian a present to the king.* Or, by the lion that roared upon Him He meant the Devil, whom Moses called a serpent, but Job and Zacharias the Devil, and Jesus addressed as Satan, shewing that he has a name derived from the action which he did; for the word *Sata* in the Jewish and Syrian language signifies Apostate, and *nas* is the word from which the translation *serpent* is derived; from both of which is formed the one term *Satanas*. And it is related in the books of the Apostles, as soon as

Hosea 10, 6. Job 1, 6; 2, 4. Zech. 3, 1. 2.

Jesus went up out of the river Jordan, when the Voice said to Him, *Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee;* that this Devil came to Him and tempted Him, even so far as to say to Him, *Worship me;* and that Christ answered him, *Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve:* for as he deceived Adam, so he considered that he could effect something against Christ also. And this passage, *My bones are poured out as water, and parted; my heart is like melting wax in the midst of my belly,* is a prophecy of what was done to Him on that night when they came out against Him at the Mount of Olives to take Him; for in those records which I say were composed by His Apostles and their followers it is recorded, that His sweat poured down like drops of blood, as He prayed and said, *If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me;* His heart and likewise His bones trembling, and the former resembling wax melting in His belly, that we may know that the Father willed His own Son truly to undergo even these sufferings for our sakes, and that we may not say that being the Son of God, He did not feel those things which were laid upon Him, and which happened to Him. And the words, *My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws,* are a prophecy, as I have said, of His silence, when He who proved all your teachers foolish answered not any thing at all.

DIAL. TRYPH. Ps. 2, 7. Matt. 3, 17. Luke 3, 22. Matt. 4, 10. Luke 4, 1. ver. 14. Luke 22, 44. ver. 15.

104. "And this, *Thou hast brought me into the dust of death. For many dogs compassed me about, the assembly of the wicked enclosed me. They pierced my hands and my feet; they did tell all my bones; they also considered and looked upon me: they parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots,* is a prophecy, as I said before, of the manner of death to which the gathering together of the wicked was to condemn Him; whom He calls both dogs and hunters, shewing that they who hunted Him and who used every endeavour for His condemnation, were even gathered together, which is also described in the records of His Apostles. And I have shewn that after His crucifixion, they who crucified Him parted His garments among them.

v. 15-18. The manner of Christ's death is described in this Psalm.

JUST. MART. v.] 9-21. The horns of the unicorns typify the Cross. We are instructed by the prayers of Christ.

105. "And what follows in this Psalm: *But withdraw not Thou Thy succour far from me, O Lord: haste Thee to help me. Deliver my soul from the sword; and my only-begotten from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth, and my humility from the horns of the unicorns,* is likewise a teaching and foretelling of what His nature[1] is, and what was to happen to Him; for I have proved that He was the Only-begotten of the Father of all things, being properly begotten by Him as His Word and Power, and was afterwards made man of the Virgin, as we have learnt from the records of (His Apostles). And He also foretold that He should die by crucifixion; for the words, *Deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the power of the dog; save me from the lion's mouth, and my humility from the horns of the unicorns;* are likewise the words of one declaring by what death He was to die, that is, by being crucified: for I have already explained to you, that *the horns of the unicorns* are a type of the cross only; and entreating that His soul might be saved *from the sword, and the mouth of the lion, and from the power of the dog,* was a prayer that none should have power over it; that we, when arrived at the end of our lives, may ask the same thing of that God, who is able to turn aside every shameless and wicked angel from seizing our souls. Now that our souls survive, I have proved to you from the fact that the soul of Samuel was evoked by the witch[2], as Saul required; and it also appears, that all the souls of the righteous and of the prophets, like him, fell under the authority of these powers; which indeed is also confessed in the case of this witch by the very facts themselves. Hence God also [1]seems to teach us by His Son, always to strive to become righteous, and at the end of our lives to pray that our souls may not fall under any such power. For when He gave up the ghost upon the cross, He said, *Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit;* as I have also learnt from the records [of the Apostles]. For when He exhorted His disciples to excel the life[3] of the Pharisees, with the certainty if they did not, that they would not be saved, it is

[1] τῶν ὄντων αὐτῷ.

[2] ἐγγαστριμύθου. 1 Sam. 28.

[3] πολιτειαν.

[1] It seems very forced to take φαίνεται with γίνεσθαι, as Otto suggests. In the text, the reading ὁ Θεὸς διδάσκειν . . . δικαίους γίν. has been adopted.

written in the records [of the Apostles] that He spake thus, *Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Dial. Tryph. Matt. 5, 20.

106. "And that He knew that His Father would grant Him all things that He prayed for, and would raise Him from the dead; and encouraged all those who fear God to praise Him, because He had mercy, even through the mystery of this Man who was crucified, on the whole race of believers, and that He stood in the midst of His brethren, the Apostles, (who, after He had risen from the dead, and convinced them of that which He used to teach them before His passion, that He must needs suffer these things, and that they had been foretold by the Prophets, repented that they forsook Him at His crucifixion,) and, when living among them, praised God, as He is also declared to have done in the records of the Apostles, the remainder of the Psalm describes, which is as follows. *I will declare Thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I praise Thee. Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him: all ye seed of Jacob, glorify Him; and fear Him, all ye seed of Israel.* And from His being said to have changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter, and its being related in the records [of His Apostles] that this was done along with His having also changed the names of two other brothers, the sons of Zebedee, into that of Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder; we have an indication that this is He who gave Jacob the surname of Israel, and by whom Hoshea was called Joshua, by which name the remainder of the people who came out of Egypt were brought into the land which was promised to the Patriarchs. And Moses has thus foretold that He should arise as a star from the family of Abraham, saying, *A Star shall arise out of Jacob, and a Governor out of Israel.* And another Scripture says, *Behold a Man; the East is His name.* When a star then arose in the Heavens at the time of His birth, as it is written in the records of the Apostles, the Magi from Arabia knew the fact from this sign, and came and worshipped Him. Christ's resurrection is foretold at the end of the Psalm. ver. 22, 23. Numb. 24, 17. Zech. 6, 12.

JUST. MART. The same is proved by the history of Jonah. Mat.12, 38. 39.

107. "And that He was to rise again on the third day after He was crucified, it is written in the records that those of your nation questioned with Him and said, *Shew us a sign;* and He answered, *An evil and adulterous generation seeketh for a sign, and no sign shall be given it except the sign of Jonah.* And when He said these things, they were veiled, so that His hearers might understand that after His crucifixion He would rise again the third day. And He proved your generation to be more wicked and adulterous than the city of the Ninevites; who at the preaching of Jonah, after he had been cast up on the third day from the belly of the huge fish, that after (in other versions forty[u]) three days they should all perish, proclaimed a fast for all living things whatever, both men and beasts, with sackcloth, and earnest mourning, and true repentance from their hearts, and a turning away from their wickedness, believing that God is merciful and loving to every man who is converted from his wickedness; so that the king of the city himself and also the nobles put on sackcloth, and continued in fasting and supplication, and prevailed with God that their city should not be destroyed. But when Jonah was grieved that the city was not destroyed on the third (fortieth) day as he had proclaimed, by the Divine appointment of a gourd[x] springing up, under which he sat, and was shaded from the heat; (now this was a gourd that sprang up suddenly, and was neither planted nor watered by Jonah, but grew up rapidly, and gave him shade;) and by the other appointment of its withering away, at which Jonah was grieved; God also

[u] "In other versions forty." These words form part of the Ms. text, which stands thus, *μετὰ ἐν ἄλλοις τεσσαράκοντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας*. Justin usually follows the Septuagint, which here reads *three*, whilst the Hebrew has *forty*, as also the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Hence the words *ἐν ἄλλοις τεσσαράκοντα*, with the corresponding word in the next sentence below, seem to have been added by a transcriber.

[x] *σικυῶνα*. The Benedictine translates this by the Latin hedera, "ivy;" but Otto observes that this does not accord with the description that follows, "A gourd that sprang up suddenly;" and as the real meaning of *σικυὸν* is a cucumber bed, he suggests that St. Justin, like Aquila and Theodotion, wrote *κικυῶνα* from *κίκι*, ricinus, Palma Christi, or castor oil plant, which he describes as "growing up very suddenly, with a soft stem, which if wounded in the slightest degree causes the whole to wither away quickly," or *κοῦκι*, the "cocoa-nut tree." Otto in loc. The Septuagint reads *κολόκυνθα*. See S. Jerome's Letter to S. Aug. Epist. 74. sub fin.

convicted him of being unjustly angry that Nineveh was saved from destruction, saying, *Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in its night, and perished in its night: and should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?* DIAL. TRYPH. Jonah 4, 10. 11.

108. "These things they of your nation all knew to have been done by Jonah; and although Christ declared before you that He would give you the sign of Jonah, exhorting you to repent of your sins, at least after His resurrection from the dead, and like the Ninevites to make lamentation to God that your nation and city might not be destroyed and taken as it has been; yet not only did you not repent when you learnt that He had risen from the dead, but, as I said, you commissioned[1] chosen men, and sent them throughout the whole world to declare that 'an atheistical and lawless heresy has been raised by one Jesus, a deceiver from Galilee, whom we crucified, but His disciples stole Him by night from the tomb in which he was laid, when unnailed from the cross, and now deceive mankind, saying that He has risen from the dead, and gone up into heaven.' And you slanderously assert that He taught even those godless, lawless, and unholy doctrines, of which you accuse to the whole world those who confess Him to be Christ, and a Teacher, and the Son of God. And besides all this, even now that your city is taken and your land laid waste, you do not repent, but even presume to curse Him and all who believe in Him; and yet we do not hate you, nor those who by your means have conceived such things against us; but we pray that you may all even now repent, and obtain mercy from Him, who is full of compassion and of great mercy, God the Father of all.

Christ's resurrection does not convert the Jews, but they have sent messengers throughout the world to slander Him.

[1] χειροτονήσαντες.

109. "But that the Gentiles should repent of the evil in which through ignorance they were accustomed to live, after they heard the doctrine which was preached by His Apostles, beginning at Jerusalem, and learnt it through them, permit me to prove by a few words from the prophet Micah, one of the twelve. They are as follows: *And in the last days the* Micah 4, 1—7.

The conversion of the Gentiles was foretold by Micah.

Just. Mart. *mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, prepared in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and they will enlighten us as to His way, and we will walk in His paths. For out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; and He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. And nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn war any more. And every man shall sit under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. For all people will walk in the name of their gods, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will gather her that is distressed; and will assemble her that is driven out, and her whom I afflicted, and I will place her that was distressed for a remnant, and her that was pressed greatly for a strong nation. And the Lord shall reign over them in mount Sion from henceforth even for ever.*"

A part of the above prophecy is already fulfilled in the Christians, and the remainder will be so at the second coming of Christ.

110. When I had finished the passage, I added, "I know, Sirs, that your teachers confess the whole of this passage to be spoken of Christ; and I am also aware that they assert that He has not yet come, and that even if they admit He is come, it is not known who He is; but when He shall be made manifest and glorious, then, they say, it shall be known who He is: and then, they say, the things spoken in this passage shall come to pass; as if there were no fruit as yet from the words of the prophecy. Unreflecting men! not understanding that which is proved by the whole Scriptures; that there are two Advents of His proclaimed, the first in which He has been set forth as liable to suffer, and without glory, and without honour, and crucified; the second in which He shall come from the heavens with glory, whenever the Man of the Apostacy, who speaks strange things even against the Most High, shall presume on unlawful deeds upon earth against us Christians, who (having learnt the worship of God from the law and the word which went forth from Jerusalem

2 Thess. 2, 3.

through the Apostles of Jesus) have fled for refuge to the God of Jacob and the God of Israel; and we who were filled with war, and mutual slaughter, and every kind of wickedness, have each of us throughout the whole world turned our weapons of war, our swords into ploughs and our spears into implements of husbandry, and cultivate godliness, righteousness, philanthropy, faith, and hope, which we have from the Father Himself, through Him who was crucified; sitting each under his own vine, that is, each one having only his wedded wife; for you know that the prophecy says, *His wife shall be as a fruitful vine.* Ps. 128, 3. DIAL. TRYPH.

"And it is plain, that there is no one who can terrify or subjugate us, who through the whole world believe in Jesus; for it is certain, that when beheaded and crucified, and thrown to wild beasts, and bonds and flames and every other kind of torture, we do not depart from our confession; but by how much the more such things are done, by so much do others in greater numbers become believers and worshippers of God through the name of Jesus. As when a man cuts off the fruitful branches of a vine, it grows up again, so that others spring out, both flourishing and fruitful, so it is also with us; for the vine which is planted by God and Christ our Saviour is His people. But the remainder of this prophecy will come to pass at His second coming; for the words, *her that is distressed and driven out,* that is, from the world, [have this meaning,] that every Christian, as much as lies in you and all other men, has been cast out not only from his own possessions, but from the whole earth, in that you suffer not any Christian to live; but you say that this has happened to your nation; but if you have been cast out by war, you indeed have suffered these things justly, as the Scriptures all testify; whilst we who have committed no such crime since we knew the truth of God, receive testimony from Him, that together with the most Righteous, alone spotless and without sin, even Christ, we are taken away from the earth; for thus says Isaiah, *Behold how the righteous perisheth, and no man perceiveth it in his heart; and the righteous men are taken away, and no man considereth.* Micah 4, 6. Is. 57, 1.

111. "And I have already said, that it was mystically foretold even in the time of Moses, by the type of the goats which The two Advents were signified

JUST. MART. by the two goats. Other types of the first Advent, in which the Gentiles are made free through the blood of Christ.

were offered at the feast, that there should be two Advents of this Christ; and again, the same thing was symbolically foretold, and declared by the actions of Moses and Joshua; for one of them remained on the hill till evening, with his hands (which were borne up from beneath) stretched out, which shews the type of nothing else but the cross; and the other, whose name was changed to Jesus [Joshua], led the battle in which Israel was victorious. And you may see that this was done by both those holy men and prophets of God, because one was unable to bear both these mysteries, I mean, the type of the cross, and of the name: for this strength is, and was, and will be His alone, at whose name every power[1] trembles, being in pangs, because through Him they are about to be destroyed. Our suffering and crucified Christ, then, was not cursed by the law, but declared that He alone would save those who fall not away from faith in Him. And those who were saved in Egypt when the first-born of the Egyptians were slain, the blood of the passover, which was sprinkled on the side posts and the lintel, preserved; for Christ was the Passover, who was slain afterwards, as Isaiah says, *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter;* and it is written that you took Him on the day of the passover, and likewise during the passover crucified Him[y]. And as the blood of the passover saved those who were in Egypt, so shall the blood of Christ deliver those who believe in Him from death. Would God then have been mistaken had this sign not appeared upon the doors? I do not say that, but that He thereby proclaimed beforehand

[1] ἀρχὴ

Is. 53, 7.

[y] It may not be improper to add here the following particular circumstance. "Besides that He was crucified at the passover, He seems also to have died about that moment of time when they were wont to slay the paschal lamb, which was about their ninth hour. They began to crucify Him at the third hour of the day, Mark xv. 25; at the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour, verse 33; at the ninth hour He cries out, *My God, my God,* verse 34; and presently after we read that *He gave up the ghost*, verse 37; and that all this happened before the latter evening, (and so consequently between the two evenings,) appears from verses 42, 43, when we read, that *when even was come*, *Joseph* begs the body of Jesus: so that Christ our Passover, the great Antitype of the paschal lamb, dies between the two evenings: and as in other particulars our Lord did fully answer what was typified of Him in that sacrifice, so He doth also in the time of His death; which was about the ninth hour, and was the precise time of slaying the paschal lamb." Kidder, quoted by Brown.

the salvation which was to be brought about hereafter for the human race, through the blood of Christ. For the symbol of the scarlet thread also, which the spies who were sent by Joshua the son of Nun gave to Rahab the harlot in Jericho, telling her to bind it to the window by which she let them down, that they might escape from their enemies, in like manner shewed forth the symbol of the blood of Christ, by which they who were formerly fornicators and unjust, from among all nations are saved, having received remission of their sins, and sinning no more.

The Jews explain these things in a low and jejune manner, and only occupy themselves with points of minutiæ.

112. "But you who explain these facts in a low manner, charge God with much weakness, if you receive them thus barely, and do not search out the force[1] of what is recorded. For even Moses may be thus condemned of having acted against the law, who, having himself commanded that no likeness should be made of any of the things in heaven, or on earth, or in the sea, then himself made a brazen serpent, and placed it for a sign, and commanded those who were bitten to look upon it; and they who did so were saved. Shall the serpent then, which God cursed at the beginning, as I have said, *and slew*, as Isaiah declares, *by a great sword*, be conceived to have then saved the people? And shall we receive such things in the foolish manner in which your teachers lay them down, and not as types? And shall we not refer the sign to the image of Jesus who was crucified, since also Moses by stretching out his hands together with him who was surnamed Jesus, caused your nation to have the victory? Thus at least shall we cease to be in difficulty about the deeds of the lawgiver, for he did not forsake God, and persuade the people to put their trust in a beast, through which transgression and disobedience had their origin. And these things were done and spoken by the holy prophet with much meaning and mystery, nor is there any thing which any one can justly reprehend among the sayings or doings of all the prophets, if you have the knowledge which is contained in them. But if your teachers only explain to you why female camels are not mentioned in this or that passage, or what kind of animals they are which are called female camels, and why so many measures of fine flour, and so many of oil, are used in the offerings, and that in a low and

[1] δύναμιν Is. 27, 1.

JUST. MART. The circumcision of the Jews is very different to that of Christians.

I will cite for example's sake some words of prophecy, that you may understand my meaning. When He says by Isaiah, *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before the shearer;* He speaks as if the Passion were already accomplished; and when He says again, *I have stretched out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people,* and, *Lord, who hath believed our report?* the words are spoken as if to narrate things which had been already accomplished. For I have also shewn that Christ is often called in parable a Stone, and in figurative language Jacob and Israel. And again when He says, *I shall see the heavens, the work of Thy fingers,* except I understand the operation of His words[a], I shall understand the passage unintelligently, like your teachers, who think that the Father of the universe and the unbegotten God has hands, and feet, and fingers, and a soul, like a compound creature; who therefore teach also that the Father Himself was seen by Abraham and Jacob. Happy therefore are we who have been circumcised with the second circumcision of knives of stone. For your first circumcision was and is wrought by iron, for you continue hard of heart; but ours which is a second one, and which was revealed after yours, circumcises us by sharp stones, that is, by the words of the Apostles of Him who was the corner-stone, and the stone cut without hands, from idolatry, and all sin whatever; whose hearts are thus circumcised from evil as even to rejoice in dying for the name of that good Rock, from which springs up living water, for the hearts of those who through Him love the Father of all, and which gives to those who will to drink of the water of life. But you do not understand me when I speak of these things, for what it was foretold that Christ should do you know not, nor do you believe us who direct you to the Scriptures; for Jeremiah thus exclaims, *Woe unto you, because you have forsaken Me the Living Fountain, and have hewed you out broken cisterns that can hold no water. Shall there be a wilderness where Mount Sion is? Because I gave Jerusalem a bill of divorce in your sight.*

Is. 53, 7. Is. 65, 2. Is. 53, 1. Ps. 8, 3. Jer. 2, 13. 14. Jer. 3, 8.

[a] The reading of the MSS. τῶν λόγων has been retained, as referring probably to the successive "sayings" of God in Gen. i. The Bened. conjectures τὸν λόγον, and Otto τοῦ λόγου, both understanding it of the Logos.

115. "But you ought to believe Zechariah, when shewing the mystery of Christ in parable, and preaching it in a hidden way, whose words are as follows: *Rejoice, and be glad, O daughter of Sion: for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord, and many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be My people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee; and they shall know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto thee. And the Lord shall inherit Judah His portion in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. Let all flesh fear before the Lord: for He hath risen up out of His holy clouds. And He hath shewn me Jesus the High Priest standing before the Angel: and the devil stood at His right hand to resist Him; and the Lord said to the devil, The Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: lo, is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?*"

DIAL. TRYPH. A prophecy of the Christians in Zechariah. The perverse manner in which the Jews dispute. Zech. 2, 10—13; 3, 1. 2.

As Trypho was about to reply and contradict me, I said, "Wait first, and hear what I say; for I am not going, as you suppose, to interpret it as if there had been no priest named Jesus in the land of Babylon, where your people were in captivity; which even if I had done, I have proved that there was a Jesus a priest in your nation; yet the Prophet did not see him in his revelation, as he saw not the devil, or the Angel of the Lord, by actual sight[1], being in his natural state, but in a trance[2], a revelation having been made to him. But now I say, that just as [the Holy Ghost] mentioned certain signs and actions done by the son of Nun, through his name Jesus, heralding those things which were to be done by our Lord; so I now come to prove, that the revelation of the Jesus who was a priest of your nation in Babylon, was a foreshewing of the things which were to be done hereafter by our Priest, and God, and Christ, the Son of the Father of all things.

[1] αὐτοψίᾳ.
[2] ἐκστάσει.

"I wondered in fact," I continued, "why you were silent just now, and did not interrupt me, when I said that the son of Nun was the only one of his contemporaries who came out of Egypt, that entered into the holy land with those who were described as the youth of that generation. For you swarm together and settle like flies upon sores. For even if any one speak ten thousand words well, yet if

JUST MART. there be any one trifling thing which does not please you, or which you do not understand, or which is not correct, you think nothing of the many good, but lay hold of that trifling little word, and endeavour to prove it to be impious and unrighteous; in order that, being judged with the same judgment by God, you may have much the more to give account for your audacious enormities, whether they be evil actions, or unsound and perverse interpretations; for with what judgment ye judge, it is right that ye should be judged.

It is shewn how the above prophecy applies to Christians.

116. "But that I may give you the account of the revelation of Jesus Christ the Righteous, I resume my discourse and say, that that revelation was made to us who believe on Him who was crucified as the Christ, the High Priest; to us who, when living in fornications and every kind of filthy practice, have through the grace given by our Jesus, according to the will of His Father, put off all those foul sins with which we were clothed. The devil was always at hand opposing us, and endeavouring to draw us all to himself; and the Angel of God, that is, the Power of God which was sent us through Jesus Christ, rebukes him, and he departs from us. And we have been, as it were, plucked from the fire, being freed from our former sins, and from the affliction, and the fiery trial[1], by which the devil and all his ministers try us, from which also Jesus Christ the Son of God plucks us again; who has moreover promised, if we perform His commandments, to clothe us with garments that He has prepared for us, and to provide for us an eternal kingdom. For as that Jesus, who is called by the Prophet a priest, was seen wearing filthy garments, because it is said that he married a harlot; and is called a brand plucked out from the fire, because he received remission of his sins, the devil also who opposed him being rebuked; so we, who through the name of Jesus believe as one man on God the Creator of all things, have put off our filthy garments, that is our sins, through the name of His first-begotten Son; and are set on fire by the word of His calling, and are the true high-priestly family of God, as He Himself testifies, saying, that in

Zech. 3, 3. 4.

[1] πυρώσεως.

Zech. 3, 3. 4.

every place among the Gentiles they offer sacrifices pure and well pleasing to Him. But God accepts not sacrifices from any except through His priests. DIAL. TRYPH.

117. "God has therefore beforehand declared, that all who through this name offer those sacrifices which Jesus, who is the Christ, commanded to be offered, that is to say, in the Eucharist of the Bread and of the Cup, which are offered in every part of the world by us Christians, are well pleasing to Him. But those sacrifices, which are offered by you, and through those priests of yours, He wholly rejects, saying, *And I will not accept your offerings at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same, My name is glorified among the Gentiles; but ye profane it.* Malachi's prophecy of the sacrifices of Christians. It cannot be understood of the prayers of the Jews who were then in dispersion. Mal. 1, 10—12.

"But you even till now contentiously assert, that God does not receive the sacrifices offered in Jerusalem by those who, then living there, were termed Israelites; but says that the prayers of those of your nation who were then in the dispersion were accepted by Him, and calls their prayers sacrifices. That prayers indeed and thanksgivings[1] offered up by the worthy are the only sacrifices which are perfect and acceptable to God, is what I myself also affirm: (for these alone the Christians also have been taught to offer[2], and that in the remembrance made by their food, both solid and liquid, in which there is a commemoration also of the passion endured for their sakes by the Son of God[b], whose name the chief priests and teachers of your nation have laboured to get profaned and blasphemed throughout the whole world; but those filthy garments which are placed by you on all those who from the name of Jesus are made Christians, God will shew to be taken from us, when He shall raise up all again, and set some incorruptible, immortal, and free from pain, in an eternal and imperishable kingdom; and send others into the eternal punishment of fire:) but both you and your teachers deceive yourselves when you interpret this passage of Scripture of those of your nation who were in the dispersion, and say that it speaks of their

[1] εὐχαριστίαι.

[2] ποιεῖν.

[b] The reading of the Greek is not the Son of God, but God of God; but this, the Benedictine observes, is the error of the transcriber, who has inserted ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ instead of ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Otto admits the emendation into his text.

JUST. MART. prayers and sacrifices made in every place, as pure and well pleasing, and know that you speak falsely, and endeavour in every way to impose upon yourselves; first, because your people are not found even now from the rising to the setting of the sun, but there are nations in which none of your race have ever dwelt; whilst there is not one nation of men, whether Barbarians, or Greeks, or by whatsoever name distinguished, whether of those (nomads) who live in waggons, or of those who have no houses, or those pastoral people that dwell in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings[1] are not offered to the Father and Creator of all things, through the name of the crucified Jesus. And you know that at the time when the prophet Malachi said this, the dispersion of you through the whole world, in which you now are, had not yet taken place; as is also shewn by Scripture.

[1] εὐχαριστίας.

He exhorts them to repent before the coming of Christ: through their faith in whom Christians are far more religious than Jews.

118. "It would be better, therefore, that you should lay aside this spirit of contention, and repent before the great Day of Judgment comes, in which, as I have proved, Scripture foretells that all those of your tribes who have pierced this Christ shall mourn. And I have explained the meaning of the prophecy, *The Lord sware,* [*Thou art a Priest for ever*] *after the order of Melchisedek;* and I have said before that the prophecy of Isaiah, who said, *His burial was taken away from the midst,* was about Christ, who was to be buried, and to rise again; and that this Christ Himself will be Judge of all the quick and the dead, I have stated at length. And Nathan also in like manner spoke thus of Him to David; *I will be to Him a Father, and He shall be to Me a Son, and I will not take My mercy away from Him, as I did from them that were before Him; and I will settle Him in Mine house, and in His kingdom for ever.* And Ezekiel says, that there shall be no other Prince in this house but He; for He is the chosen Priest and Eternal King, the Christ, as being the Son of God; and think not that Isaiah or the other prophets say that at His second coming sacrifices of blood or drink offerings were to be offered on the Altar, but true and spiritual praises and thanksgivings[1]. And we have not believed in Him in vain, nor have we been deceived by those who taught us: but it has even been effected by the

Is. 57, 2. 7, 14. 1 Chron. 28, 6.

Ezek. 44, 3.

[1] εὐχαριστίας.

wonderful providence of God, that we through the calling of the new and eternal covenant, that is Christ's, should be found both more understanding and more religious than you, who are thought to be, but are not, either lovers of God, or understanding. This very thing Isaiah says with wonder; *And kings shall shut their mouths: for to whom He was not spoken of, they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand. Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?* Is. 52, 15; 53, 1.

"In saying this, Trypho," I added, "as I have opportunity, I endeavour to repeat what I said before, but yet briefly and concisely, for the sake of those who have come with you to-day."

"You do well," he said, "and if you should repeat the same again and that at greater length, be assured that both myself and my companions would take pleasure in listening to them."

Christians are the holy people who were promised to Abraham, and they are called as he was.

119. And I said again, "Do you think, Sirs, that we could ever have understood these things in the Scripture, if we had not received grace to understand them by the will of Him who willed them, in order that what was said in the time of Moses might be fulfilled; *They provoked Me to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked they Me to anger. They sacrificed to devils, whom they knew not; new gods that came newly up, whom their fathers knew not. Thou hast forsaken the God that begat thee, and art unmindful of the God that nourisheth thee. And the Lord saw, and was jealous, and was provoked to anger, because of the anger of His sons and daughters, and said, I will turn away My face from them, and I will shew what shall happen to them in the last days; for they are a perverse generation, children in whom is no faith. They have moved Me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked Me to anger with their idols: and I will move them to jealousy with those that are not a people, and I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation. For a fire is kindled in Mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell. It shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains: I will heap mischiefs upon them.* Deut. 32, 16—23.

"And after that Just One was cut off, we, another people, flourished and sprang up like new and flourishing corn, as

Just. Mart. the prophets said, *And many nations shall flee unto the Lord in that day for a people; and they shall dwell in the midst of the whole earth.* But we are not only a people, but are also a holy people, as I have already shewn, *And they shall call him a holy people, redeemed of the Lord.* We are not therefore a despicable people, nor a barbarous tribe, nor such as the races of Caria and Phrygia, but God has chosen us, and was manifested to those who asked not for Him. *Behold,* He says, *I am God to a nation which has not called upon My Name.* For this is the nation which God formerly assured to Abraham, and promised that He would make him the father of many nations, not meaning the Arabians, nor the Egyptians, nor the Idumeans; for Ishmael too became the father of a great nation, and Esau; and there is even now a vast multitude of Ammonites. And Noah was moreover the father of Abraham himself, and in fact of the whole race of man. And other nations had other ancestors. What more then did Christ grant to Abraham? That He called him with His voice by the like calling, and commanded him to go out of the land in which he was dwelling. Yea, and He has called us all by that voice, and we have now gone out from that way of life in which we were living, like the other inhabitants of the world, in sin; and together with Abraham we shall possess the holy land, receiving our inheritance for endless ages, being the children of Abraham through a like faith. For just as he believed the voice of God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, so we also believing the voice of God, which is both spoken again through the Apostles of Christ, and proclaimed to us by the prophets, have renounced, even to death, all that is in the world. Therefore He promised Him a nation of the like faith, and devout, and righteous, well-pleasing to the Father, but not you, *in whom is no faith.*

Zech. 2, 11.

Is. 62, 12.

Is. 65, 1.

Deut. 32, 20.

Christians were promised even to Isaac, to Jacob, and to Judah. Gen. 26, 4; 18, 4.

120. " See indeed how He makes the same promises to Isaac and to Jacob; for He speaks thus to Isaac, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;* and to Jacob, *All the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed.* But He does not say so to Esau, nor to Reuben, nor to any other, but those of whom Christ was to come according to the dispensation which was by the Virgin Mary. But if you would consider the blessing of Judah,

you would see what I mean. For the seed is divided from Jacob, and descends through Judah, and Phares, and Jesse, and David: and these are signs, to shew that some of your nation should be found to be the children of Abraham, and in the portion of the Christ, but that others should be the children indeed of Abraham, but being like the sand upon the seashore, which is barren and unfruitful, much indeed in quantity and numberless, but producing no fruit whatever, and only drinking the water of the sea; of which indeed a great multitude of your nation are convicted, drinking in the doctrines of bitterness and ungodliness, but rejecting the word of God. For he says of Judah, *A Prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a Ruler from his thighs, till the things laid up for him come, and he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.* Dial. Tryph. Gen. 49, 10.

"And it is plain that this was not spoken of Judah, but of Christ; for we, who are of all nations, look not for Judah, but for Jesus, who also brought your fathers out of Egypt; for until the coming of Christ the prophecy proclaimed beforehand, *Until He comes for whom it is laid up, and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.* Jesus came then, as I have shewn at length, and He is expected to come again upon the clouds, whose name you profane yourselves, and labour to have it profaned throughout all the world.

"I might, Sirs," I continued, "contend with you about the above expression, which you translate, alleging that it is said, *Until the things laid up for him come*, for the Seventy did not so render it; but, *Until He comes for whom it is laid up.* But since what follows proves that it was said of Christ; for it runs thus, *And He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles*, I will not dispute with you about a single little word, as I did not endeavour to establish my proof of Christ from the Scriptures, which are not acknowledged by you, which I cited from the words of Jeremiah the prophet, and Esdras, and David, but from such as are even now admitted by you; which if your teachers had understood, be well assured that they would have removed them, as they did those about the death of Isaiah, whom you sawed asunder with a wooden saw; which also was a type of Christ, who would divide your nation in two, and would admit those

JUST. MART. that are worthy, together with the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, to His eternal kingdom; but who has already said that He will send the rest, together with those out of all nations who like them are disobedient and impenitent, to the punishment of the unquenchable fire. *For they shall come,* He said, *from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.* This I have said, regarding nothing at all, but speaking the truth, and fearing no one's person, even if I should be immediately torn in pieces by you. For I had regard to none of my own countrymen, I mean the Samaritans, when I said in my written address to Cæsar[c], that they were deceived by putting their trust in Simon the magician of their own nation, whom they maintain to be God above every principality, and authority, and power."

Matt. 8, 11. 12.

From the fact that the Gentiles believe in Christ, it is plain that this *is* Christ.

121. As they kept silence, I continued. "He, speaking by David of this Christ, my friends, says not, *In His seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed,* but, *in Him.* And thus it is written there, *His name shall endure for ever, it shall arise above the sun: and all nations shall be blessed in Him.* But if all nations are blessed in Christ, and we from all nations believe in Him, He Himself is the Christ, and we are they who are blessed through Him. God formerly permitted the sun to be worshipped, as it is written, and yet you cannot find any one who ever underwent death because of his faith in the sun; but you, for the name of Jesus, may see those who from all nations have undergone, and who now undergo, all things, that they may not deny Him; for the word of His wisdom and truth is far more fiery and bright than the influences of the sun, and it penetrates into the depths of the heart and mind. Hence Scripture says, *His name shall arise above the sun:* and again Zechariah says of Him, *The East is His name;* and speaking of the same person, he said, *They shall mourn tribe by tribe.* But if at His first coming, when He was without honour, without comeliness, and was set at nought, He has so shone forth and prevailed, as not to be unknown in any nation; and that every where men repented of the former evil course of life of each

Ps. 72, 17. Deut. 4, 19.

Ps. 72, 17. Zech. 6, 12; 12, 12.

[c] St. Justin probably refers to his first Apology. See Apol. i. §. 26.

race; so that even the devils were subject to His name; and all the powers and kingdoms have feared His name more than they fear all who are dead; shall He not certainly at His glorious coming destroy all who hate Him, and those who unjustly revolt from Him, but give His true followers rest, and bestow on them all that they look for? To us then it is given to hear and to understand, and to be saved by this Christ, and to have knowledge of all the things of the Father. Wherefore He says to Him, *It is a great thing for Thee that Thou shouldest be called My Servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to turn the dispersions of Israel: I have made Thee for a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be their salvation unto the end of the earth.* Is. 49, 9.

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122. "You indeed think that these words are spoken of the stranger[d] and the proselyte, but in fact they are spoken of us who have been enlightened through Jesus. For Christ truly would have borne witness to them also: but now, as He Himself said, you are *two-fold more the children of hell.* The words of the Prophet then are not spoken to them but to us, of whom the Scripture says, *I will lead the blind in a way which they know not, and they shall walk in paths which they have not known. And I am witness, saith the Lord God, and my servant whom I have chosen.* To whom then does Christ give this testimony? Plainly to those who believe. But the proselytes not only do not believe, but blaspheme His name two-fold more than you, and endeavour to put to death and torture us who believe in Him, for they strive to be like you in all things. And again in another place He says, *I the Lord have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thy hand, and strengthen Thee, and I will place Thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of prison them that are bound.* For these words, Sirs, are also

The Jews wrongly interpret this of their proselytes. Matt. 23, 15. Is. 42, 16. Is. 43, 10. Is. 42, 6. 7.

[d] Γηόραν. This word is found in the Septuagint version of Exodus xii. 9, and Isaiah xiv. 1, where Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, read προσήλυτος. Hesychius explains it to mean "neighbours of another race, whom the Israelites term proselytes." So Theodoret on the passage of Isaiah above referred to; and in like manner St. Justin in the next chapter seems to use προσήλυτος as synonymous with γηόρας. Hence Otto supposes the words καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους, to be a corrupt addition to the text in the present passage.

JUST. MART. addressed to Christ, and concerning the nations who have been enlightened. Or will you again assert that He says them in reference to the law and the proselytes?"

Then some of those who came on the second day cried out, as if they were in a theatre, "What then? Does He not speak in reference to the law and those who are enlightened by it, that is, the proselytes?"

"No," I replied, looking at Trypho, "for if the law had power to enlighten the nations and those who have it, what need was there of a new covenant? For since God promised to send a new covenant, and an everlasting law and commandment, we will not explain it of the old law and its proselytes, but of the Christ and His proselytes, namely, us Gentiles whom He has enlightened; as He somewhere

Is. 49, 8. says, *Thus saith the Lord, In an acceptable time have I heard Thee, and in a day of salvation have I succoured Thee; and I gave Thee for a covenant of the nations, to establish the earth, and to inherit the desolate ones as an heritage.* What then is the inheritance of Christ? is it not the nations? What is the covenant of God? is it not the

Ps. 2, 7. 8. Christ? as He says in another place, *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the nations for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.*

The interpretations of the Jews are ridiculous. Christians are the true Israel.

123. "Since then all these latter prophecies are spoken with reference to Christ and the Gentiles, you should consider that the former[1] are so also. For your proselytes have no need of a covenant, if, since one and the same law is laid down for all that are circumcised, the Scripture speaks thus of them, *And the stranger also shall be joined to them, and shall be joined to the house of Jacob;* and because in fact a proselyte who is circumcised that he may be joined to your people, becomes as one who is born among you[2]; but we who are held worthy of being called a people, are nevertheless Gentiles, because we are uncircumcised. And it is ridiculous too for you to say that the eyes of your proselytes are opened, but that your own are not; and that you should be termed blind, and deaf, but they enlightened. And it will be more ridiculous still, if you say that the law was given to the Gentiles, but that you knew

[1] Quoted in chap. 121.

Is. 14, 1.

[2] *αὐτόχθων.*

not that law. For you would have dreaded the wrath of God, and would not have been lawless and uncertain children; but you would have been fearful of hearing Him say always, *Children, in whom is no faith.* And, *Who is blind, but my servants? and deaf, but they who rule over them? And the servants of God are blind. Ye see often, but do not observe; your ears are open, and ye do not hear.* Dial. Tryph. Deut. 32, 20. Is. 42, 19. 20.

"Is this praise which God gives you good, and His testimony such as befits His servants? And you are not ashamed that you hear it often, and you do not tremble when God threatens you; but assuredly you are a foolish and hardhearted people. *Wherefore, behold, saith the Lord, I will proceed to remove this people, and I will remove them; and I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of the prudent.* And justly, for you are not wise nor understanding, but cunning and treacherous; wise only to do evil, but powerless to discern the hidden counsel of God, or the faithful covenant of the Lord, or to discover the everlasting paths. Therefore, He says, *I will raise up to Israel and Judah a seed of men, and a seed of beasts.* And He speaks thus by Isaiah of another Israel; *In that day there shall be a third Israel amongst the Assyrians and the Egyptians, blessed in the land which the Lord of Hosts blessed; saying, Blessed shall My people be which are in Egypt, and which are amongst the Assyrians, and Israel Mine inheritance.* Since God then blesses this people, and calls them Israel, and declares them to be His inheritance, why do you not repent, both that you deceive yourselves, as if you alone were Israel, and that you curse the people whom God has blessed? for when He spoke to Jerusalem and the regions round about it, He thus said again, *And I will create upon you men, even My people Israel, and they shall inherit you, and you shall be their possession, and you shall be no more bereaved of children by them.*" Is. 29, 14. Jer. 31, 27. Is. 19, 24. 25. Ezek. 36, 12.

"What then," said Trypho, "are you Israel, and does God speak this of you?"

"If," I said in reply, "we had not had a long discussion on this question, I should doubt perhaps whether you made this enquiry from ignorance; but as we have proved this, and you have assented to it, I cannot suppose that you are

JUST. MART. ignorant of what has been said, nor that you wish to have recourse to wrangling again, but that you do it to challenge me to prove the same thing to these [friends of yours]." And in answer to the assent which was expressed in his countenance, I said; "Again in Isaiah, if indeed you, hearing with your ears, will receive it, God, speaking of Christ in a parable, calls Him Jacob and Israel, saying thus, *Jacob is My servant, I will uphold Him; Israel is Mine elect. I will put My spirit upon Him, and He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench, but He shall bring forth judgment unto truth*[c]*: He shall shine, and shall not be broken, till He shall have set judgment in the earth: and in His name shall the Gentiles trust.* As therefore your whole race was called Jacob and Israel from that one Jacob who was also surnamed Israel; so we too who keep the commandments of Christ as we are called Jacob, and Israel, and Judah, and Joseph, and David, so from Christ who begat us unto God, we are called, and are, the true children of God."

Is. 42, 1—4.

Christians are the children of God.

124. And when I saw that they were disturbed at my saying that we also are the children of God, I anticipated their question, and said, "Hear, Sirs, how the Holy Ghost speaks of this people, that they are all sons of the Most High, and that Christ Himself shall be present in their congregation, judging the whole race of men. The words are spoken by David, as you translate them, thus; *God standeth in the congregation of gods; and He judgeth among the gods. How long do you judge unjustly, and accept the person of the wicked? judge for the fatherless and the poor, and justify the low and needy: deliver the needy, and rid the poor out of the hand of the sinner. They have not known nor understood; they walk on still in darkness; all the foundations of the earth shall be moved. I have said, Ye are gods, and ye are all children of the Most High. But ye die like men, and fall like one of the princes. Arise, O God, judge the earth, for Thou shalt inherit among all nations.* In the translation of the Seventy it is said, *Behold, ye die like men, and fall like one of the princes,* to

Ps. 82.

[c] The reading of the LXX has been followed, ἐξοίσει κρίσιν. Ἀναλάμψει, καὶ κ.τ.λ.

shew the disobedience of men, I mean of Adam and Eve, DIAL. and the fall of one of the princes, that is, of him who is TRYPH. termed the serpent, who fell with a great fall because he deceived Eve. But since my discourse is not directed to this, but to proving to you that the Holy Ghost upbraids the human race, which were created like God, free from suffering and immortal, if they should keep His commandments, and were thought worthy by Him to be called His sons, and yet like Adam and Eve bring death on themselves, let the interpretation of the Psalm be as you please, it will even thus have been proved, that all are thought worthy to become gods, and to have power to become the sons of the Most High, and will be judged and condemned each for themselves, like Adam and Eve. But that the Holy Ghost calls Christ God, I have shewn at length[1]. [1] See §§. 36. 56–68.

125. "I now wish," I said, "Sirs, to learn from you what is the meaning of the word Israel." And when they made no answer, I added, "I will tell you what I know about it, for I do not hold it to be right when I know a thing not to say it, nor from suspecting that you know it, and that through envy or pretended ignorance you deceive yourselves[d], to be always anxious; but to speak all things simply and without deceit, as my Lord said; *A sower went forth to sow his seed, and some fell by the way side, some among thorns, some upon stony places, and some upon good ground.* We ought then to speak in the hope that there is good soil. For that Lord of mine, as one who is strong and powerful, will, at His coming, demand His own from all, and will not condemn His steward if He knows that he, because of his knowledge that his Lord was mighty, and would at His coming demand His own, has given it to every bank, and not, from any reason whatever, dug in the earth [and hidden his talent]. He explains the force of the word Israel, and how it applies to Christ. Mat. 13, 3—8. See Mat. 25, 18—27.

"This word Israel then signifies a man overcoming power,

[d] The reading of the Greek is evidently corrupt; it is as follows: *οὔτε ὑπονοοῦντα ἐπίστασθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ φθόνον ἢ δι' ἀπειρίαν τὴν τοῦ βούλεσθαι, ἐπίσταμαι αὐτὸς φροντίζειν ἀεί. κ. τ. λ.* We have followed the emendation of the Benedictine, who for *ἐπίσταμαι αὐτὸς* proposes to read *ἀπατᾶν ἑαυτούς*, as the most simple and probable of all the suggestions that have been offered on the passage. St. Justin, as the Bened. observes, frequently upbraids the Jews with deceiving themselves; as in §§. 34. 103. of this Dialogue.

Just. Mart. for *Isra* is man overcoming, and *el* is power[e]. And that Christ when made man should do thus, was foretold by the mystery of that wrestling which Jacob held with Him, who appeared to him indeed, as ministering to the will of the Father, but who is God, because He is the Son, the First-born of all creatures. For when He was made man, as I have said, the devil came to Him, that is, that power which is also called the serpent and satan, tempting Him, and endeavouring to overthrow Him, by asking Him to worship him. But Christ destroyed and cast him down, proving that he is wicked in asking to be worshipped as God, contrary to the Scripture, having become an apostate from the will of God. For He answered him, *It is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.* And the devil, being defeated and convicted, then departed.

Mat. 4, 10.

"But since our Christ was also to be benumbed, that is, with the pain and sense of His suffering when He was about to be crucified, He also foreshewed this through touching the thigh of Jacob, and making it grow numb; but His name from the beginning was Israel, to which He changed the name of the blessed Jacob, blessing him with His own name, proclaiming also thereby that all who come to the Father through Him are the blessed Israel. You, however, neither understanding, nor preparing to understand, any of these things, expect assuredly to be saved, because you are the sons of Jacob according to fleshly descent; but that you deceive yourselves in this also, I have already shewn at length.

The various names of Christ according to each of His natures. He is God, and is shewn to have appeared to the Patriarchs.

126. "But if you had known, Trypho," I said, "who He is that is called at one time Angel of Great Counsel[f], and a Man by Ezekiel, and like the Son of Man by Daniel, and a little Child by Isaiah, and Christ and God who is to be worshipped by David, and Christ and a Stone by many, and Wisdom by Solomon, and Joseph, and Judah, and a Star by Moses, and the East by Zechariah, and One who must suffer, and Jacob, and Israel, by Isaiah again, and a Rod,

[e] St. Justin supposes that the word Israel is compounded of אִישׁ (ish) a man, שָׂרָה (Sarah) he prevailed, and אֵל (êl) power; it being really derived only from the two latter words, אֵל (êl) however meaning not power but God, i. e. he prevailed with God (in the wrestling).

[f] For these epithets, Otto refers to §§. 33. 34. 36. 58. 61. 64. 68. 70. 76. 86. 98. 99. 100. 113. 114. 118. 121. 123.

and a Flower, and chief corner Stone, and Son of God; if you had known this, Trypho, you would not have blasphemed Him who has already come, and been born, and suffered, and ascended into heaven; who will also return again; and then your twelve tribes shall mourn. For if you had understood what is said by the Prophets, you would not have denied that He is God, the Son of the only and unbegotten and ineffable God; for somewhere in Exodus Moses speaks thus, *And the Lord spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord, and I appeared unto Abraham, and unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, being their God, and My Name I discovered not to them, and I established My covenant with them:* and he says thus again, *A man wrestled with Jacob*, and affirms that He is God, for he declares that Jacob said, *I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved:* and Moses has recorded that he called the place where He wrestled with him, and appeared to him, and blessed him, *The Face of God,* [*Peniel.*]

DIAL. TRYPH.

Exod. 6, 2—4.

Gen. 32, 24. 30.

Gen. 32, 30.

" And as Moses also says, God appeared to Abraham *at the oak of Mamre, when he was sitting in the door of his tent at mid-day;* then he continues as follows, *And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood before him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet them.* A little afterwards, one of them promises Abraham a son; *Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, who am old? Is any thing impossible with God? At the appointed time I will return, and Sarah shall have a son. And they departed from Abraham.* And he proceeds to speak thus of them: *And the men rose up from thence, and looked towards Sodom.* Then He who was and is spoke thus to Abraham again; *I will not hide from Abraham My servant what I am going to do.* And I repeated what follows in Moses' writings, and what I had explained[1]; from whence it has been proved, I said, that He who, being called God in Scripture, appeared to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other Patriarchs, was set under the Father and Lord, and ministers to His will. And I added, although I had not said it before; So also when the people desired to eat flesh, and Moses believed not Him who is there called an Angel, when He promised that God would give them to satiety, He being both God and an Angel sent from the Father, is shewn to have spoken and done

Gen. 18, 1. 2.

ver. 13. 14.

ver. 16.

ver. 17.

[1] See above, §. 56.

JUST. MART. these things. For thus says the Scripture: *And the Lord said unto Moses, Shall not the Lord's hand be sufficient for this? Thou shalt know now whether My word shall come to pass unto thee or not.* And again, elsewhere he speaks as follows; *Also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this Jordan. The Lord thy God who goeth before thee, He will destroy the nations.*

Numb. 11, 23.

Deut. 31, 2. 3.

These passages of Scripture do not apply to the Father, but to the Word.

127. "And the other are like words of this Lawgiver and of the Prophets. And I suppose that I have sufficiently shewn that when my God says, *God went up from Abraham,* or, *The Lord spake to Moses,* and, *The Lord came down to see the tower which the children of men built,* or, *God closed the Ark of Noah from without,* you should not suppose that the Unbegotten God Himself descended or went up from any place; for the ineffable Father and Lord of all things neither comes to any place, nor walks, nor sleeps, nor rises up, but always remains in His own place wherever it is, seeing quickly and hearing quickly, not with eyes or ears, but by an ineffable power—(and yet He beholds all things, and has knowledge of all things, and none of us is hid from Him)—nor is He moved nor contained in any place, not even in the whole world, having been even before the world was made; how then could He speak to any one, or be seen by any one, or appear on the smallest spot of earth? when the people could not even look on the glory of him who was sent by Him in Sinai, and Moses himself was unable to enter the tabernacle, which he had made, if it were filled with the glory of God, and the Priest could not endure to stand before the Temple when Solomon brought the ark into the house at Jerusalem, which he himself had built,—then neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, nor any other man, ever saw the Father and Ineffable Lord of all things whatever, and of Christ Himself; but Him, who, according to His will, is both God His Son, and His Angel from ministering to His will; who, He determined, should be born as man of the Virgin, and who once even became fire when He conversed with Moses from the bush; for if we do not understand the Scriptures thus, it will follow that the Father and Lord of all things was not in heaven when it was said by Moses, *And the Lord rained upon Sodom fire and brimstone from the*

Gen. 17, 22. Exod. 6, 29. Gen. 11, 5. Gen. 7, 16.

Gen. 19, 24.

Lord out of heaven. And again when it was said by David, *Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.* And again when he says, *The Lord saith unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.* DIAL. TRYPH. Ps.24,7. Ps. 110, 1.

128. "And that Christ being Lord, and being in His own nature God the Son of God, and being formerly manifested with power as man, and an angel, and in the form of fire as in the bush, appeared also at the judgment which was brought upon Sodom, has been proved at length by what I have said." And I again recounted all that I have already transcribed from the book of Exodus, both about the appearance at the bush, and the giving of the name of Jesus; and I added, "And do not imagine, Sirs, that I repeat these things often as using too many words, but because I know that some wish to anticipate these explanations, and to say that the power which appeared to Moses, and to Abraham, and to Jacob, from the Father of all things, is called an Angel in His approach to men, since thereby the will of the Father is communicated to them; and glory, inasmuch as He appears sometimes in an incomprehensible vision; and sometimes is called a man[1], since He appears in such shapes and forms as the Father wills; and they call Him the Word, since He bears the communications from the Father to men; but that this power is indivisible and inseparable from the Father, as they say the light of the sun upon earth is indivisible and inseparable from the sun which is in heaven; and when it sets, the light is withdrawn with it; so the Father, when He wills, they say, makes His power to go forth, and when He wills He draws it back again into Himself. In like manner they teach that He makes the Angels also. But it has been proved that the Angels exist, and always remain, and are not dissolved again into that from which they were created. And that this power which the word of prophecy calls God, as has likewise been fully proved, and Angel, is not numbered[2] [as another] in name only, like the light of the sun, but is also numerically another thing, I have already briefly explained, when I said, that this Power has been generated from the Father by His power and will; but not by abscission, as if the Father's

The Word is not sent forth as a soulless power, but is a Person begotten of the Substance of the Father.

[1] ἄνδρα καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

[2] ἀριθμεῖται.

JUST. MART. essence were divided off, as all other things which are parted and severed are not the same as before the division took place: for an example of which I took the fires kindled as from a fire, which we see are other[1], that from which many may be kindled, being in no degree diminished, but remaining the same.

[1] ἕτερα.

This is confirmed from other passages of Scripture. Gen. 19, 24.

129. "And I will now besides produce those passages of Scripture which I cited to prove this. When it says, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven*, the word of prophecy intimates that they are two in number, One being on earth, who, it says, came down to see the cry of Sodom; and the Other being in heaven, who is also Lord of that Lord who was upon earth, as His Father and God, and the cause of His being both mighty and Lord and God: and again, when the Scripture says that God said in the beginning, *Behold Adam is become as one of Us*, the words *as one of Us* of themselves are indicative of number; nor do they admit a figurative interpretation, such as that by which sophists endeavour to explain them, who are not able either to speak or to understand the truth. And in the book of Wisdom [Proverbs] it is written, *If I should tell you the things which are done daily, I must reckon up those things which were done from the beginning. The Lord created*[2] *Me the beginning of His ways for His works. From everlasting He established Me, in the beginning, before He made the earth, and before He made the depths, and before the fountains of water sprung forth: before the mountains were settled, and before all the hills, He begetteth Me.*"

Gen. 3, 22.

Prov. 8, 21, &c. cf. Euseb. H. E. 4, 22.

[2] ἔκτισε LXX.

And when I had said this, I added, "You perceive, Sirs, if at least you have given me your attention, that the Scripture declares that this Offspring was begotten of the Father before all creatures whatever; and that that which is begotten is another in number from that which begets, every one will be ready to acknowledge."

St. Just. returns to the conversion of the Gentiles, and shews that it is foretold in Prophecy.

130. And when they all assented, I said, "But I will mention now some passages also which I have not mentioned before. They are uttered under a veil by the faithful servant Moses, and run thus; *Rejoice, O Heaven, with Him, and let all the Angels of God worship Him;*" and I added the remainder of

the passage, "*Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people; and let all the Angels of God be strengthened in Him: for He avenges, and will avenge, the blood of His sons; and will render vengeance to His adversaries, and will requite them that hate Him; and the Lord will purify the land of His people.* By these words he affirms that we Gentiles rejoice with His people Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Prophets also, and, in a word, all those of that nation who pleased God, as we have already agreed: but we shall not understand it of all your nation, for we know from Isaiah, that the limbs of the transgressors shall be devoured by the worm, and the fire that cannot be quenched, remaining immortal for a spectacle to all flesh. And to these passages, Sirs," I said, "I wish to add for you some others from the very writings of Moses themselves, from which you may also understand, that in the beginning God dispersed all men, both as to nations and tongues; and from all the nations He chose to Himself your's, a useless, disobedient, and faithless nation; and shewed that those who were chosen from every nation have obeyed His will through Christ, whom He calls Jacob and surnames Israel, these, as I have said at length, must be Jacob and Israel; for when He says, *Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people*, He gives them the like inheritance, but not the like names[g]: but calling them 'Gentiles,' and saying that they rejoice with His people, He terms them 'Gentiles' to your disgrace; for in like manner as you provoked His wrath by your idolatries, so He has deigned to permit, that these who were idolaters should know His will, and possess the inheritance which is with Him.

DIAL. TRYPH. Deut. 32, 43. in the LXX. Is. 66, 24. Deut. 32, 43.

131. "But I will repeat the words by which God is proved to have divided the nations; they are as follows: *Ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee*[h]: *When the Most High divided the nations,*

How much more faithful are the Gentiles who have been converted to Christ than the Jews. Deut. 32, 7-9.

[g] The reading of the Greek MSS. is as follows, "He gives them the like inheritance and the like name," *τὴν μὲν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμει κληρονομίαν, καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν ὀνομασίαν δίδωσιν.* But the Benedictine rightly observes, that the word "not" should be supplied; for, as he says, St. Justin's whole argument is directed to prove that peoples and Gentiles are distinguished by name; and the word 'Gentiles' is used by him to the disgrace of the Jews, the former having been called by God, while the latter are rejected.

[h] The punctuation of the LXX, adopted by Otto, has been followed in this passage.

JUST. MART. *and when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the children of Israel; and the Lord's portion was Jacob His people, and Israel was the lot of His inheritance.* And I added, that the Seventy translated it, *He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the Angels of God.* But since again my argument is not weakened by it, I have given your version. And if you will confess the truth, you must yourselves also own that we,—who are called by God through the mystery of the cross which is set at nought, and is full of reproach, (for the profession of which things, and for our obedience and piety, we have been heavily punished, even to death, by the evil demons, and the host of the devil, through the aid which has been rendered by you to them,) and undergo all things rather than deny, even with a word, the Christ, through whom we were called to the salvation which was before prepared by the Father;—are more faithful to God than you, who with a high arm, and the display of great glory, were delivered from Egypt, when the sea was divided for you, and a dry way made, in which He slew those who were pursuing you with a very great power, and with splendid chariots, having brought upon them that sea which was made passable for you; for whom also a pillar of light shone, in order that beyond every other nation in the world you might have the use of a peculiar and unfailing light which never set; for whom He rained for food the proper bread of the Angels in heaven, that is, manna, that you might have no need of seeking the means of making bread; and the water in Marah was made sweet; and a sign was made of Him who was to be crucified, both in the case of the serpents that bit you, as I have said before, (God graciously giving you by anticipation all the mysteries before their proper time, to whom you are convicted of having always been unthankful;) and of Moses, by the type of the stretching out of his hands; and of Oshea[i], who received the surname of Jesus, warring upon Amalek, about which God commanded what had been done to be recorded; and the name of Jesus, to be laid up in your

[i] Thirlby's conjecture of Αὐσῆ for ὡς has been adopted, as the best emendation, on the whole, of this corrupt passage.

memories, saying, that this was he who was to blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. It is plain, however, that the memory of Amalek remained even after the son of Nun; but God declares[1], that through Jesus the crucified, (of whom also these types were foreshewings of all that was to be done concerning Him,) the devils were to be destroyed, and to dread His name, and that all powers and kingdoms likewise were to fear Him; and that out of every nation they who believe in Him should be devout and peaceable men; and what I have already said, Trypho, proves it. And so great a supply of quails was given you when you desired flesh to eat, that they could not be numbered: and water gushed from the rock for you also; and a cloud followed you, as a shadow from the heat and a protection from the cold, shewing the form and prediction of another and a new heaven; the latchets of your shoes also were not broken, nor did your shoes themselves grow old, nor were your garments worn out, but even those of the children grew with them[k].

DIAL. TRYPH.

[1] Otto supplies ὁ θεὸς with φανερὸν ποιεῖ.

132. "And yet after these miracles you made a calf, and eagerly committed fornication with the daughters of the strangers, and worshipped idols: and again, after these things, when the land was delivered to you with so great power that you saw the sun, at command of him who was surnamed Jesus, stand still in heaven, and not set for the space of thirty-six hours; with all the other miracles which were wrought for you in their season: from which it now occurs to me to select one other, because it conduces to your knowing Jesus, whom we acknowledge as Christ the Son of God, who was crucified, and rose from the dead, and went up into heaven, and will come again to judge all men whatever, even up to Adam himself. You know then, I said, that when the Tabernacle of the Testimony was seized by the enemies of Ashdod, and a fearful and incurable infliction was laid on them, they resolved to place it upon a waggon, to which they yoked kine that had lately calved, that they might make trial to know whether they were stricken by the power of God on account of the Tabernacle, and whether God willed it to be restored to

How great was the power of the name Jesus in the Old Testament.

[k] This is a Jewish tradition explanatory of Deut. viii. 4.

Just. Mart. the place from whence it was taken. And when they had done so, the kine with no one to lead them came not to the place from whence the Tabernacle was taken, but to the field of a man called Oshea, the same name as his who was surnamed Jesus, and who also, as has been said, brought the people into the (promised) land, and divided it amongst them by lots.

1 Sam. 6, 14.

"When they came to this place then, they stood still, God shewing you by them also, that they were led by the powerful name, as before the people who were left from those who came out of Egypt were led into the land by him who took the name of Jesus, but who was before called Oshea.

The hardness of heart of the Jews, forwhom the Christians pray.

133. "And still, when these and all other like wonderful miracles were done for you, and seen by you, in their seasons, you are blamed by the prophets also even for sacrificing your children to devils, and, in addition to all these things for what you have dared, and still dare, to do to Christ, for all which may you obtain mercy unto salvation from God and His Christ. For God, foreknowing that you would do these things, has uttered this curse before by the prophet Isaiah; *Woe unto their soul! they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying, Let us bind the Just One, because He is not for our turn: wherefore they shall eat the fruit of their own doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him, according to the work of his hands. O my people, your oppressors plunder you, and your exactors shall rule over you. O my people, they who call you blessed cause you to err, and disturb the path of your ways. But now the Lord will stand up to judgment, and will bring His people to judgment. The Lord Himself will enter into judgment with the ancients of the people, and the princes thereof. But why have you burnt up my vineyard; and is the spoil of the poor in your houses? Why do ye afflict my people, and make the faces of the poor to blush?* And in other words again the same Prophet speaks to the same effect: *Woe unto them that draw their sins as it were with a long rope, and iniquities as it were with a cart-rope; who say, Let his speediness approach, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel come, that we may know it. Woe unto them that call evil good,*

Is. 3, 9—15.

Is. 5, 18—25.

and good evil; that put light for darkness, and darkness for light; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight. Woe unto them that are mighty among you, that drink wine, and men of strength, and that mingle strong drink; which justify the wicked for rewards, and take away the righteousness of the righteous. Therefore as stubble shall be burnt with coals of fire, and shall be consumed with a burning flame, their root shall be as down, and their blossom shall go up as dust: for they would not have the law of the Lord of Hosts, but provoked the word of the Lord, the Holy One of Israel. And the Lord of Hosts was very angry, and He laid His hands upon them, and hath smitten them; and He was provoked to anger against the mountains; and their carcases were made as the dung in the midst of the street: and in all these things they turned not away, but their hand is lifted up still. DIAL. TRYPH.

"For truly, your hand is still lifted up to do evil; for although you slew the Christ, you do not even so repent, but you hate us who through Him believe on God and the Father of all, and kill us as often as you have power; and you unceasingly curse Him Himself, and those who are His, although we all pray for you, and for all men whatever, as we were taught to do by our Christ and Lord, who commanded us to pray even for our enemies, and to love those that hate us, and to bless those that curse us. Matt. 5, 44. Luke 6, 27.

134. "If therefore the instruction of the Prophets and of God Himself put you to shame, it would be better for you to follow God than your foolish and blind teachers, who permit you even now to have four or five wives each; and if any of you see a handsome woman and desire her, they recount the actions of Jacob, who was Israel, and the other Patriarchs, even saying that those who act like them do no wrong; even in this being wretched and without understanding: for, as I said before, certain dispensations of great mysteries were accomplished in each such action of theirs. For I will tell you what dispensation and prophecy was accomplished in the marriages of Jacob, that you may know in this also that your teachers never looked to the more divine object for which each thing was done, but rather to The marriages of Jacob are a type of the Church.

JUST. MART. grovelling and corruptible passions. Attend therefore to what I say. The marriages of Jacob were types of what was about to be done by Christ. For it was not lawful for Jacob to be married to two sisters at once. And he served Laban for his daughters, and when deceived about the younger, he served him again seven years. But Leah is your people and synagogue, and Rachel is our Church. And for these, and for the servants in both, Christ is a servant even to this time: for as Noah gave to his two sons the seed of his third for servitude, Christ has now on the other hand come for the restoration of both the free children, and of the bond-servants that are among them, thinking all who keep His commandments to be worthy of the same privileges: just as those who were born to Jacob of the free women, and those who were born of the bond-servants, were all sons, and received the same honour; and according to their order and according to foreknowledge, it was foretold of what character each should be. Jacob served Laban for the spotted and speckled cattle, and Christ endured service, even to the cross, for men of various colours and appearances from every nation, gaining them through His blood and the mystery of the cross. Leah's eyes were weak; for the eyes of your souls too are exceedingly so. Rachel stole the gods of Laban, and hid them to this day; and our ancestral and material gods are lost us. Jacob was always hated by his brother; and we now, and our Lord Himself, are hated by you and by all other men, who are all by nature brothers. Jacob was surnamed Israel; and Christ also, who both is and is called Jesus, has been proved to be Israel.

Gen. 30, 32, &c.

Christ is the King of Israel, and Christians are the race of Israel.

135. "And when Scripture says, *I am the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, who shewed Israel your King*, will you not understand it to mean really Christ, the everlasting King? for you know that Jacob the son of Isaac never became a king; wherefore Scripture, explaining to us whom it means by Jacob and Israel the King, says thus; *Jacob is my servant, I will uphold Him; and Israel is mine elect, my soul shall embrace Him. I have put my Spirit upon Him, and He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor shall His voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed*

Is. 43, 14.

Is. 42, 1, &c.

shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench, till He shall bring forth judgment unto victory[1]. *He shall shine, and shall not be broken, till He shall have put judgment in the earth; and in His name shall the Gentiles trust.* Is it then in the Patriarch Jacob, and not in Christ, that the Gentiles and you yourselves trust? As therefore Scripture thus calls Christ Israel and Jacob, so we also who are quarried from the bowels of Christ are the true race of Israel: but let us rather attend to the very passage; *And I will bring forth,* says he, *the seed of Jacob and of Judah, and it shall inherit my holy mountain. And mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants, and they shall dwell there; and in the wood there shall be folds of flocks, and the valley of Achor shall be for a place of rest for the herds, for the people that have sought me. But you which forsake me, and forget my holy mountain, and prepare a table for devils, and fill up a mixed liquor to the devil, I will deliver you up to the sword; ye shall all fall by slaughter; because I called you, and ye did not obey, I spake, and ye did not heed, and ye have done evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delight not.* And these are indeed the words of Scripture; and ye yourselves perceive that this is another seed of Jacob which is now spoken of, nor would any one suppose that this was spoken of your nation. For it is not possible that the descendants of Jacob should leave an entrance for the seed of Jacob, nor that He who upbraided His people as being unworthy of His inheritance, should, on the other hand, promise it to the same people as if He approved them; but as the Prophet there says, *And now, thou house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord; for He hath dismissed His people, the house of Jacob; because their land, as from the beginning, is full of prophesyings and divinations.* So here also we must understand two seeds of Judah and two races, as two houses of Jacob, one born of flesh and blood, the other of faith and the Spirit.

DIAL. TRYPH. Is. 65, 9 & 6. Is. 2, 5. 6.

136. "For you see how He now speaks to the people; after He had said above, *As the grape-stone shall be found in the*

The Jews are rejected because of their wicked-

[1] Thirlby's reading, ἕως οὗ εἰς νῖκος Otto, has been followed. See §. 123. ἐξοίσει κρίσιν. Ἀναλάμψει, adopted by

JUST. MART. ness in putting Christ to death, and the Gentiles are received in their stead.

cluster, and they shall say, Hurt it not, for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servant's sake; for his sake I will not destroy them all; upon this also he adds, *And I will bring forth the* [seed] *of Jacob and of Judah.* It is plain then, that if He is so angry with them, and threatens to leave a very small number of them, He promised to bring in certain others who shall inherit in His mountain; and these are they that He said He would sow and beget; for you neither bear with Him when He calls you, nor listen to Him when He speaks, but you have even done evil before the Lord. And herein consists the exceeding greatness of your wickedness, that you even hate that Just One whom you put to death, and those who have received from Him to be what they are, righteous, just, and lovers of mankind; wherefore, *woe to their soul,* says the Lord, *because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying, Let us take away the Just One, because He is not for our turn.* For you have not sacrificed to Baal, like your fathers, nor offered[1] cakes in groves or in high places to the host of heaven; but you have not received the Christ of God. For he that knows not Him, knows not the will of God, and he that insults and hates Him, hates and insults Him also that sent Him; and if any believe not on Him, he believes not the preachings of the Prophets, which foretold and preached Him to all.

Is. 65, 8. 9.

Is. 3, 9.

[1] ἐποιεῖτε.

S. Justin exhorts the Jews to conversion.

137. "Do not then, my brethren, speak evil of Him who was crucified, nor mock His stripes, by which all may be healed, as we have been healed; for it would be well if you would be persuaded by the Scriptures, and receive the circumcision of the hardness of your hearts, and not that which you practise from the opinion which is instilled into you: since this was given for a sign, and not for the practice of righteousness, as the Scriptures compel us to believe. Agree with us then, and do not scoff at the Son of God, nor persuaded by your teachers the Pharisees, ever heap insults on the King of Israel, as the rulers of your synagogues teach you to do after your prayers. For if he who touches those who are displeasing to God is as one who touches the apple of God's eye, much more so is he who touches His Beloved: but that this is He, has been sufficiently proved."

Zech. 2, 8.

And as they kept silence, I said, "I will now also, my

friends, cite the Scriptures as the Seventy translated them; for when I quoted them before as you read them, I was making a trial of your disposition; for in reciting the passage which says, *Woe unto them, because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying,* I added as the Seventy translated it, *Let us take away the Just One, because He is not for our turn,* when at the beginning of this discussion[1] I cited it as you would have it said, *Let us* bind *the Just One, because He is not for our turn,* but you were occupied with something else, and appear to me not to have heard with attention what I said; but since the day is now drawing to its close, for the sun is even now on the point of setting, I will make one more observation, and conclude; and even this has been mentioned by me already, although I think it would be right for me to treat of it again.

DIAL. TRYPH.

Is. 3, 9.

[1] See §. 17.

138. "You know then, Sirs, I said, that in Isaiah God has said to Jerusalem, *In the deluge of Noah I saved thee*[m]; but what God said is this, that the mystery of mankind who are saved was[2] in the deluge. For righteous Noah with the others at the deluge, that is, his wife and his three sons, and their wives, making eight persons in number, were a type of that day on which our Christ appeared when He arose from the dead, which in number indeed is the eighth, but in power is always the first; for Christ being the first-born of every creature, was also made again the beginning of a new race which is regenerated by Him through water, and faith, and wood, which contains the mystery of the cross; as Noah also was saved in wood, being borne upon the waters with his family. When the prophet therefore says, *In the time of Noah I saved thee,* as I have observed, God speaks to the people who were in like manner faithful to Him, and had these types; for Moses with his rod in his hand led your people through the sea. But you suppose that this was spoken only to your nation or land; but the Scripture says that the whole earth was covered, and that the water was fifteen cubits above all the mountains; so that it is

Noah is a type of Christ, who has regenerated us through water, faith, and wood.

[2] γέγονεν

Gen. 7, 19. 20.

[m] "In the deluge of Noah I saved thee." These precise words are not to be found in Isaiah, or in any other part of Scripture. It seems to refer to Isaiah liv. 8. 9; but how he came to derive this reading from it, is difficult to say. Brown: Otto in loc.

JUST. MART. plain that God spoke this not to your land, but to the people who are obedient to Him, for whom He has also prepared a rest in Jerusalem, as has been foreshewn by all the types in the deluge. I mean, that by water, and faith, and wood, they who are prepared and who repent of the sins they have committed, shall escape the judgment of God which is about to come.

The blessings which were given by Noah, and even his curse, were a prediction of what was to come to pass. Gen. 9, 22.

139. "For another mystery also, completed in the time of Noah, was foretold, of which you have no knowledge. It is this. In the blessings with which Noah blessed his two sons, and in the curse which he uttered against his son's son: for the prophetic spirit would not curse that son who was blessed by God together with the other sons, but as the penalty of his sin was to pass through the whole race of the son who derided his nakedness, he made the curse begin from *his* son[n]; but in what Noah said, he foretold that the posterity of Shem should possess the property and habitations of Canaan, and the posterity of Japhet again were to take those of the Semites, which the latter possessed from the Canaanites, despoiling the posterity of Shem, as the Semites themselves possessed them when the race of Canaan was deprived of them. And hear how it has come to pass accordingly; for you who are descended from the race of Shem, came according to the counsel of God against the land of the sons of Canaan, and took possession of it; and it is plain that the posterity of Japhet have, by the judgment of God, come in their turn against you, and taken away your land, and possessed it. Now these things have been thus expressed: *And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him, and said, Cursed be Canaan the servant, a servant shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. May the Lord enlarge Japhet, and let him inhabit the houses of Shem, and let Canaan become his servant.* So that as two people were blessed, the sons of Shem and of Japhet, and the sons of Shem were first decreed to possess the habitations of Canaan, and the sons of Japhet were foretold as about in their turn to take the same pos-

Gen. 9, 24—27.

[n] That is, from the son of Ham, who was Canaan. Otto supposes that St. Justin may have written *ἑαυτοῦ* for the *υἱοῦ* of the text.

sessions from them; and as one people, that of Canaan, was delivered into servitude to the two people; Christ came according to the power of the Omnipotent Father given to Him, and calling men to friendship, and blessing, and repentance, and dwelling together, has promised, as has been shewn, the future possession of all the saints in the same land. Whence men from every country, whether slaves or free, if they believe in Christ, and acknowledge the truth in His Words and in those of His prophets, know that they shall be together with Him in that land, and shall have an eternal and incorruptible inheritance. DIAL. TRYPH.

140. "Hence Jacob, being himself also, as I said, a type of Christ, married the two handmaids of his two free wives, and begot sons from them, to foreshew that Christ will receive even all those descendants of Canaan that are amongst the race of Japhet, equally with the free sons, and will consider them all children and co-heirs: and these indeed are we: but you cannot understand it, because you cannot drink of God's living water, but from *broken cisterns, that,* as the Scripture says, *can hold no water.* But these broken cisterns which hold no water, are those which your teachers have dug for you, as Scripture plainly says, *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* And moreover, they deceive both themselves and you, supposing that to those who are of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, even though they be sinners, and unbelieving, and disobedient to God, His eternal kingdom shall assuredly be given, the falseness of which is proved by the Scriptures themselves. Else Isaiah had not spoken thus, *And except the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and as Gomorrah.* And Ezekiel, *Though Noah, and Jacob* [*Job*], *and Daniel, shall pray for their sons or their daughters, they shall not be given them. But neither shall the father perish for the son, nor the son for the father; but every one shall perish for his own sin, and every one shall be saved by his own righteous acts.* And Isaiah again, *They shall look upon the limbs of them that have transgressed against me; their worm shall not rest, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.* And our Lord, according to the will of Him who sent Him, who is the Father and

In Christ all are free. The Jews hope for salvation in vain, as being merely the children of Abraham. Jer. 2, 13. Is. 29, 13. Is. 1, 9. Ezek. 14, 20. &c. Ezek. 18, 4-20. Deut. 24, 16. Is. 66, 24.

JUST. MART. Lord of all, would not have said, *They shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.* Moreover I have proved already that it is not from the fault of God that they, whether angels or men, who were foreknown and about to become wicked, become wicked, but it is by his own fault that each one is that which he shall prove to be.

Matt. 8, 11. 12.

Free will is imparted to men and angels.

141. "But that you may have no pretence for saying that Christ *must* have been crucified, or that the transgression must have been in your nation, and it was impossible to be otherwise, I said briefly before, that God, wishing angels and men to follow His will, was pleased to create them with free power to practise righteousness, with reason to know Him by whom they were created, and through whom they, who were not previously in existence, derive their being; and with a law that they should be judged by Him if they act contrarily to right reason. And it is through our own fault that we, both men and angels, shall be convicted of sin, unless we hasten to repent. And if the word of God foretells that some, both angels and men, shall certainly be punished, it does so because God foreknew that they would become unchangeably wicked, and not because He made them so. Wherefore if they repent, all who wish can obtain mercy from God; and the Scripture pronounces them blessed, saying, *Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin*, that is, that having repented of his sins, he may obtain remission of them from God; but not, as you, and some others who resemble you in this particular, deceive yourselves, and say, that even if they be sinners and know God, the Lord will not impute sin to them. As a proof of this we have the one transgression of David, which occurred through his boasting, which was then remitted when he so wept and lamented, as is written. And if to such an one as he, forgiveness was not granted before repentance, but only when he who was the great king, and anointed, and a prophet, thus wept and acted; how can the impure and utterly abandoned, unless they mourn and lament and repent, entertain hope that the Lord will not impute sin to them? Yea and this one transgression of David with the

Ps. 32, 2.

wife of Uriah proves, Sirs, I said, that the Patriarchs did not marry many wives as if in fornication, but that all things were accomplished by them as a kind of economy and as mysteries; for if any one were permitted to take whom he would to wife, and as he pleased, and as many as he liked, as your countrymen do throughout the world, wherever they are sojourning, or to whatever place they are sent, taking women in the name of marriage, much more would it have been permitted to David to do so."

Having said this, dearest Marcus Pompeius, I ceased speaking.

The Jews give Justin their thanks and leave him.

Trypho after pausing for a time said, "You see that it was not from design that we entered on a conversation with you on these subjects, and I confess that I have been exceedingly gratified by our meeting, and I think that these friends of mine will feel like myself; for we have found more than we expected, or than it was possible for us ever to have expected. But if we could do this more frequently, we should derive more profit, examining the very words [of Scripture]: but since, he said, you are on the point of leaving, and daily expect to sail, do not think it a trouble to remember us as your friends when you go away."

"For my part," I replied, "if I had to remain, I would have wished to do this same thing every day: but expecting now, God willing and aiding, to set sail, I exhort you to apply yourselves to this very great struggle[1] for your own salvation, and to be careful to prefer the Christ of Almighty God to your teachers."

[1] ἀγῶνα.

After this they left me, praying that I might be preserved both from the dangers of my voyage, and from every calamity. And I prayed for them, and said, "I cannot wish you, Sirs, any greater benefit, than that, knowing that through this way wisdom is given to every man, you may assuredly believe[o] with us that ours[p] is the Christ of God."

[o] The original reading is ἵνα .... πάντως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσητε, to which the Benedictine proposes either to supply the word νοῦν, reading ὅμοιον for ὅμοια, that you may have the same conviction, &c. or, still better perhaps, for ποιήσητε he would read πιστεύσητε, that you may believe with us; the latter we have followed in the text.

[p] For the τὸ ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ of the text, the same Editor would substitute τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. that Jesus is the Christ of God.

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